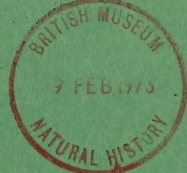


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HISTORY
OF THE
BERWICKSHIRE
NATURALISTS' CLUB

INSTITUTED SEPTEMBER 22, 1831

"MARE ET TELLUS, ET, QUOD TEGIT OMNIA, CÆLUM"

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HISTORY OF THE BERWICKSHIRE NATURALISTS' CLUB

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BERWICKSHIRE NATURALISTS' CLUB

SOME THOUGHTS ON HERBS

Address delivered to the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club by Lady Furness, O.B.E.

There is today a renewed interest in Herbs of all kinds and their various uses. The story of Herbs is as old as history. In the early pages of Genesis we read "Even as the green herb have I given you all things" and in the Psalms considerably later "God who maketh the grass to grow upon the mountains and herb for the use of man."

Herbs have been used in this country for many hundreds of years. Monasteries and Pories all had their Herb Gardens, the Herbs being grown mainly for their medicinal qualities. When I visited Milton Brodie near Forres, which used to be a monastery, I saw the garden wall which was built by the monks and is still in very good condition; Herbs still grow in odd corners of the garden, self-sowing themselves as they must have done for hundreds of years. At Coldingham Priory one can find Chamomile in the vicinity of the outer remains of the walls.

Certain Herbs were also believed to give protection against various illnesses. To this day at the distribution of the special silver coins on Maundy Thursday by the Queen, she and her attendants are presented with nosegays of Herbs and Flowers prepared by the Queen's Herbalist. This custom is a reminder of the days when Herbs were believed to give protection against infection, particularly against the dreaded plague. In some places nosegays of Herbs are also presented to Judges at Assizes to ward off plague and gaol fever.

In the Middle Ages, Herbs had another use, as well as medicinal. Most people will have seen the film "The Six Wives of Henry VIII", a very authentic production in every way except one; magnificent clothes; sumptuous feasts; splendid apartments; but the one thing the film could not reproduce was the smell which pervaded the inside of castle or palace, and which was quite terrible; so Herbs were used for strewing on the floor, their aromatic scent helping to cover up the disgusting smell of human and animal filth, which became so bad that every few months the Court had to move to another palace or castle so that the vacated residence could be thoroughly cleansed and then sweetened with fresh dried Herbs strewn on the floors. This was the custom in all large establishments, this moving to another castle every so often because the present one had become too filthy to stay in. Antonia Fraser mentions it several times in her book about Mary Queen of Scots.

It is interesting to study the strewing Herbs. One could talk about them by their Latin names but I prefer to call them by their vernacular names. There are so many books on the subject that if one wishes to know the Latin name one can easily look it up.

Marjoram grows wild in many parts of Britain, the whole plant giving out a warm fragrance. In Tudor and Stuart times it was popular as a strewing Herb and it was constantly used for "swete bags", "swete powers", and "swete washing waters".

Meadowsweet is a lovely wild fragrant plant; the blossom smells of almonds and the whole plant is so fragrant that it became one of the favourite strewing Herbs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and was greatly liked by Queen Elizabeth the First, "who did more desire it than any other herb to strew her chambers withall".

Chamomile is called Ground Apple by the Greeks, Maythen by the Saxons and Manzanilla by the Spaniards, their sherry of that name being flavoured with this Herb. It is one of the Nine Sacred Herbs. The common perennial species makes a good and sweet-smelling lawn. In the Middle Ages this plant was commonly used as a strewing Herb.

Alecost also known as Costmary and Bible Leaf, as its broader leaves were often used as book-markers in church. It is one of the many Herbs used to flavour beer before the

hop was cultivated in Britain, and was much used in Elizabethan houses as a strewing Herb to sweeten floors, shelves and cupboards.

Sweet Basil is well named; the whole plant in earlier times was gathered for use as a strewing Herb. In the East this plant had sacred associations and the Hindus in India grow it near temples and dwellings to give protection from misfortune and to guide the way to heaven.

Lemon Balm is a native of southern Europe but has in some parts become naturalized as a wild Herb in Britain. In Elizabethan England it was used for strewing and its dried leaves were put into sweet bags. Lemon Balm is a favourite bee plant and it was an old country custom to rub leaves of it on the hives to induce the bees to return and bring others with them.

Mint is the one Herb that nearly everyone knows. It was a popular strewing Herb in the Middle Ages because "the savor or smell rejoiceth the heart of man". Chaucer mentioned it growing in company with *Fennel*.

"Then went I forth on my right hond
Downe by a litel path I fond
Of Mintes full and Fennell greene".

It is thought the two were used together in sauces in those days.

Woodruff, a sweet woodland plant containing coumarin, which when dried has a scent resembling new-mown-hay. It was popular as a strewing Herb and used for the floors of bedchambers, for stuffing the bed, and for storage among linen and clothing. In the Middle Ages bunches of *Woodruff* were hung in churches together with *Lavender*, *Box* and *Roses*.

Hysop is yet another strewing Herb, with a very pungent flavour. It is much liked by bees and the honey made from it has a delicious aroma.

Lavender which I am sure is known to all of us, was also used for strewing. It was not introduced into England until 1568, but it very quickly became a popular garden plant with medicinal virtues.

Rosemary for Remembrance. It is probably not generally known that herbalists do in fact use this Herb medicinally

to treat forgetfulness. It flourished at Hampton Court in Tudor and Stuart times and was popular for strewing.

Tansy has a very ancient history. It was propagated in the Herb Garden of Charlemagne, and at a monastery in Switzerland a thousand years ago. It has a very pungent flavour. It was popular in the time of Elizabeth the First, being mainly used in beds and bedding to discourage vermin.

Southernwood also called Lads Love, and in Scotland Apple Ringie. Sprigs placed amongst clothes discouraged moths, it was also used for strewing.

Wormwood is one of the most bitter Herbs we have, the other being *Rue*. Wormwood took a high place in the list of healing herbs of benefit to mankind at a very early date, and later was popular as a strewing Herb being a powerful deterrent to lice, bugs, fleas, moths, and other unpleasant insects.

The office of King's Herb-strewer, after being in abeyance for many years, was revived at the Coronation of George IV. The woman appointed to this office wore the old costume, consisting of white gown and scarlet mantle with gold lace. On her head she had a wreath of *Laurel* and *Oak* leaves, and round her neck a badge of office. She was attended by maidens with baskets who strewed *Meadow-sweet* and other Herbs in the path of the king.

Earlier I mentioned *Chamomile* as being one of the Nine Sacred Herbs of ancient times ; the other eight are *Mugwort*, *Plantain*, *Watercress*, *Nettle*, *Crabapple*, *Chervil*, *Fennel*, and the unidentified *Attenlothe*.

I mentioned *Rue* as being as bitter as *Wormwood* ; it is also called "Herb of Grace", and "Herb of Repentance" because Holy Water was at one time sprinkled from bunches of *Rue* at a ceremony preceeding High Mass. It was also much used in Law Courts to counter the powerful gaol smells, either strewn on the floor, or in bouquets carried by the judges, the pungent odour over-coming most other smells.

Rue is one of the few Herbs employed in Heraldry and it is interesting to us in Scotland as it may be seen entwined in the collar of the Order of the Thistle, and there is also a Saxon Order called Rautenkrone (Crown of Rue). The

Romans believed it had the power to bestow second-sight and it was almost certainly brought to the British Isles by them.

There are many references to it in literature. Shakespeare's lines spoken by the gardener in Richard II and often quoted, "Here in this place I'll set a bank of Rue sour herb of grace." It is one of our oldest and most revered garden plants.

I will conclude by suggesting to you that the study of Herbs is a truly fascinating occupation ; perhaps this brief account of some of the strewing Herbs may stimulate your interest in making a study of Herbs and their different uses. I am sure you will find it very rewarding.

SECRETARY'S NOTES

As befits one of the oldest, and best known Antiquarian Societies in Britain, the membership of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club keeps very close to its maximum number. This year there is again a waiting list. It might well be said that we ought to waive this rule in view of modern conditions and circumstances. It has, however, always been the aim of the Council to retain the original rulings and concept of the Club, as formed in 1831 by Dr. Johnston and his circle. Perhaps this rather conservative policy is open to criticism, and indeed is criticised, but the procedure has created an unique position for the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club in the world of Learned Societies, and is much praised by other Clubs.

The Meetings of the past season have been well attended, and, I think, enjoyed by all. Speakers are often difficult to get, and it is not always possible to adhere to the original programme. These are things that happen in all Societies, and are not peculiar to the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.

We were fortunate in May to be addressed at Neidpath Castle, by its owner, the well known antiquarian, The Earl of Wemyss and March. The Countess of Dysart allowed us to visit the Japanese garden at Stobo Castle when a memorable display of the parasite *Lathraea Squamaria* (Toothwort) was seen. Later, at Dawick, Colonel and Mrs. Balfour escorted us round the world famous woodland gardens.

There had been a misunderstanding over the June Meeting but Major and Mrs. Baillie graciously welcomed us to Manderston, as did Mrs. Hay at Duns Castle.

July found us out in full force at Bolam Church where the Rev. T. C. Bray gave us an interesting account of its history. In the afternoon Wallington Hall and gardens were visited and there tea was taken.

An alteration had to be made in August when the visit to Old Linthill was cancelled. In its place a visit to Bunkle Church was arranged. Afterwards the President, Lady Furness received us at Netherbyres. There was a turn-out of about 150 members in spite of the coldness of the day and the torrential rainstorms which did not lessen the beauty of the garden at Netherbyres.

The weather was more clement in September for our visit to Dunstanborough Castle, and Dunstan Hall the home of J. Dudfield Rose, M.R.C.S., and Mrs. Dudfield Rose. Nearly 200 members turned out in glorious sunshine.

It is not often, other than the Annual General Meeting, that we have an outing in October. It was a risk, but the day turned out to be clear and mild. We met at Legerwood Church, and later, after a pic-nic luncheon, were welcomed at Bassendean by Mrs. Home.

Botanical and Field Meetings were also held and an account of these and details of the above meetings are to be found in this current History.

It is a privilege and an honour to be the Secretary of this well known Club. I am ever conscious and appreciative of the help and consideration which is so unstintingly given to me by the Council and members. Without their help I would indeed be the poorer. I thank you all.

NOTES ON MANDERSTON

By Mrs. BAILIE of Manderston

The *South front* of the House is the old front about 1740, built of very beautiful sandstone, on the site of an old Castle belonging to the Homes who at that time owned most of the lands.

After the Homes it passed through various hands until 100 years ago when it was bought by Sir William Miller (H. Bailie's grandfather).

His eldest son Sir James Miller (H. Bailie's uncle), except for the South front, entirely rebuilt the House 1902-1905. He employed Mr. John Kinross, R.S.A., who restored Falkland Palace among other places.

Sir James Miller's wife was a Curzon of Kedleston and as everyone knows there is no finer nor more interesting example of the work of the Adam brothers than Kedleston.

Lady Miller's father, Lord Scarsdale allowed Mr. Kinross to make detailed copies of the Adam's designs notably carried out in that Hall and Ball Room at Manderston. As Adam employed foreign craftsmen for various details so did Mr. Kinross at Manderston, and Frenchmen were employed to make the vestibule in 1902.

The Main Staircase is a copy of that of the Petit Trianon at Versailles.

The collection of Blue John marble is most interesting. Blue John is perhaps the most beautiful mineral product the soil of this country yields, or rather yielded as the deposit is now extinct.

The Dairy is of special interest being made of marble from many different countries and the tea room above is after one of the small oak rooms in Holyrood (J. Kinross).

The Stables are very remarkable, the stalls etc., being all made of Teak (J. Kinross).

For those interested in Racing there are the pictures of the two Derby winners. Sir James Miller's racing career is one of the Fairy Tales of the English Turf. He won all the Classic Races in a few years as he died at the age of 45, a few months after the building was finished.

Sainfoin won the Derby for him in 1890 and Sainfoin's son, Rock Sand, was bred by Sir James Miller and won the Two Thousand Guineas, the Derby (1903) and the St. Leger, the Triple Crown of the Racing World and only one horse has won this event since and that was "Barham" the Aga Khan's horse some years ago.

Sir James was a subaltern in the 14th Hussars when he won the Derby with Sainfoin in 1890, and it was said his Commanding Officer would not give him leave to see the race run ! Not true !

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, BOLAM

By The Rev. T. C. BRAY

When the church is approached from the South, through pleasant parkland it is a surprise to find that it is situated on a ridge commanding extensive views to the North.

The best place from which to enjoy this view is near the fencing to the West of the church-yard entrance—from here it is framed by larch trees and it is easy to pick out a mock fortification at Rothley Crag, and the outline of Simonside Hill, near Rothbury.

It is surprising to find such a sizeable church and vicarage so isolated from a village ; its only near neighbour is Bolam Hall, the Georgain house that lies about three-quarters of a mile to the west of the vicarage. This house was once the home of Lord Decies (head of the Horseley-Beresford family), and it was one of his forbears who commissioned John Dobson to design the artificial lake.

Bolam Hall was built on the site of a medieval castle, and between it and the church, was the little town of Bolam which was at one time sufficiently important to have had a market and fair granted to it in 1305 by Edward I. The presence and size of the church is now the only indication that a large village or small town once existed here.

The lost villages of England make an interesting study, and recent research suggests that well over 1200 ceased to exist between the 13th and 15th centuries. No doubt plague, and in particular the Black Death, would be responsible in some cases, but more likely reasons are economic and social. We tend to forget how radical was the change, for instance, from intensive arable farming to pastoral farming, e.g., "In some towns 200

persons were occupied and lived by their lawful labours but now only 2 or 3 herdmen are occupied". This kind of change could easily have affected Bolam and here there was the added hazard of openness to attack from 'over the border'—the nearby 'Scots Gap' is a reminder of this.

Almost within living memory a number of crofts and a small inn remained, but these were swept away last century by the landowner, and the stones used for the building of the park walls and 'ha-has'. Now the main concentration of people in the parish is at Belsay, some three miles to the S.E., nearer at Gallowhill there is a residential school.

The Church building is interesting and, I think, of great beauty. Interesting because it is possible to trace within it architectural styles from late Saxon to Early English; beautiful because in spite of changes it is all of a piece with a sense of unity.

The tower is substantially all that is left of the Saxon Church. It is tall and slender and unbuttressed; built of irregular stones. The windows, seen from the outside, are original; those of the bell-chamber are of two lights. They have either a single shaped stone to carry the masonry above or two slabs are used forming a triangular head. The parapet was a later addition probably added in 12th century. Note the herring-bone work immediately below the parapet. The lower windows are also of more recent date. Inside the tower the remains of the original ground-floor windows can be seen.

The primitive font is beautiful in its simplicity. The font cover is modern.

It seems likely that the present nave represents the size of the Saxon church; there are remains of this in the lower courses of walling on either side of the vestry door. The tower arch was probably made in its present form when the church was rebuilt in the Norman style and the very small capitals have a design of Norman foliage. This second church had a square chancel separated from the nave by the present chancel arch, and with a similar arch beyond leading into the original Norman apse.

The Chancel arch has three strong columns, scalloped capitals and roll-moulding on the arch on the West side, but a plainer treatment on the East side. The treatment of the two capitals is quite different—those on the North side have quaint beast-head ornamentation, and until recent times there were similar 'heads' on the moulding of the arch. Unfortunately these were removed by a former incumbent, the Rev. Septimus Meggison, a remarkable character who became Vicar in 1817, and continued in office till he died in 1879—an incumbency of 62 years.

The story goes that time and time again during his preaching he saw boys imitating the little demon stone-faces—putting out their tongues and pulling their ears. He became so infuriated that one day he took hammer and chisel and hacked off the carved faces. In later life, when he was reproached for this action, he is said to have replied "I was young and zealous—and the boys would not learn". And so Bolam church lost an interesting detail of its architecture.

South Aisle. There are, of course, no records of successive additions and alterations and so, as regards dating, the building has to speak for itself.

The next Change, it would appear, was the addition about 1200 of the South Aisle with its arcade of three bays and the rounded arches—the arches are supported by quatrefoil, keeled piers, with their simple, but effective, moulded capitals.

The doorway also has a rounded arch ; it has slender columns and two orders of dog-toothed ornament, also on the arch and carried down the sides to the ground. The outermost order of the arch is decorated with the 'nut-meg' motif.

Chancel. Later in the 13th century the Norman apse was replaced by the present spacious sanctuary. The shafts of the original Norman arch leading into the apse were placed back into the wall and the shaped decorated stones of the arch of the apse, can be seen in the wall. They have the saltire motif as decoration.

The sanctuary has three sedilia with single chamfered arches and semi-octagonal shafts. The lowness of the seats shows that the level of the sanctuary floor has been raised. There is also a piscina with a similar arch.

There are two aumbries, the West one, without a door, was in the earlier apse-shaped sanctuary. On the South window are wooden replicas of a helmet and gauntlet. The helmet is similar to that shown in the Middleton coat of arms on the mural tablet to the East of the window, but the crest of the wooden replica is missing.

South Chapel. The latest addition to the church was the south chapel—probably a chantry chapel in memory of Robert de Reymes whose mutilated effigy it contains. For the help he gave to Edward I in his efforts against the Scots he was rewarded with a gift of land in Bolam and permission to fortify the manor-house of Shortflatt Tower—the chapel is usually known as the Shortflatt Chapel. It contains, in addition to the one and only effigy, two grave covers, one of a priest, the other of a knight. The large niche has hinges. Originally it may have housed a statue of the Virgin or of the Patron Saint Andrew.

A small rectangular window has been constructed at a point where a bomb, one of three which fell here in 1942, entered the church, but mercifully did not explode. In the East wall there is an elliptical window. This window portrays an angel holding a rekindled light which represents rededication after the restoration of bomb damage.

Church Plate. This consists of a large chalice and salver; an Elizabethan chalice and a lid (forming a paten). The paten is dated 1571, but the cup was remade by a Newcastle silversmith.

The name Bolam comes from the Scandinavian 'bol' (habitation) and the Anglo-Saxon 'ham'.

Bolam was the barony of Sir Gilbert de Bolham, to whom it was granted by King John. It was next possessed by Sir Walter de Bolham, and by his son, and by John and James de Calcey in the reign of Henry III. Next it was owned by Alice de Bolam and then James de Calcey and his wife Alice in the reign of Edward I.

Afterwards it was possessed by the ancient family of Reymes in the time of Edward III, as appear by the escheats of the several reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry VI, Queen Elizabeth and Charles I. It remained in that family for many generations.

After the family of Reymes, Bolam was owned by the Horsleys. In 1809, the heiress of this branch of the Horsleys married the Rev. J. W. Beresford (who later became Lord Decies), son of the Archbishop of Armagh.

NETHERBYRES

By LADY FURNESS, O.B.E.

The first record of a branch of the Crow or Craw family living at Netherbyres is about 1550, and the Crow family continued to own the estate for the next 264 years.

Netherbyres was evidently an estate of some importance as it is marked on an old map dated 1645, and also on many other old maps, including one dated 1771 where it is very prominently marked.

In 1648 George Crow of Netherbyres was a Commissioner of Supply, and in 1696 a George Crow of Netherbyres, was one of those present at a Meeting of Heritors on Fogo Moor. In 1738 William Crow is mentioned as one of the Heritors of Eyemouth, although strangely enough eighteen years earlier in 1720 it is recorded that the question as to whether Gunsgreene, Netherbyres, and Brownsbank, were in Eyemouth parish or Ayton, and at last it was settled in favour of the latter. Netherbyres is still in Ayton Parish to-day. One can only suppose that William Crow was a Heritor of Eyemouth because of the very small amount of land on the Eyemouth side of the River Eye which has always been part of the Netherbyres Estate.

William Crow, who married Margaret, one of the daughters of the Rev. James Allan, minister of Eyemouth, was well known to have great mathematical and mechanical knowledge. He planned the Old Pier at Eyemouth Harbour and in 1747 he got it constructed by private subscription; after this the harbour became usable by coasting vessels of some size. He also constructed "a working model of a thrashing mill. It consisted of a series of flails or swipes moved by machinery which was found tolerably efficient but dangerous to approach and very liable to break." (Extract from R. Ker's "General View of Agriculture of the County of Berwick, 1809). He died in 1750, and is buried at Coldingham Priory. His tombstone has at some time been moved to the side of the churchyard and built into an old doorway. It is now practically impossible to decipher the Latin inscription owing to its damaged state, but thanks to Dr. Hardy and Mr. Andrew Wilson, the inscription is recorded in Appendix 29 of "Coldingham Parish and Priory" by A. Thomson, together with the English translation, which is as follows :—

"Here is buried William Crow of Netherbyres, Esquire, who alike in acquiring and cultivating every science worthy of an ingenuous man, exalted by a most noble genius which he assiduously exercised beyond others. By music, mechanics, the culture of letters and skill in these and other cognate arts, combined with thorough integrity and elegant manners, he became known and was deservedly dear to not a few of the chief men of the state and of literature. Sparingly cultivating the friendship of the great, he rather showed himself to be the friend of the human race. He always cheerfully devoted himself to the benefit of his acquaintances of the whole neighbourhood, by prudent counsel and by indefatigable exertion. He spent his life on his paternal estate, wisely administering his moderate means and at the same time elegantly enjoyed them. He was a despiser of lucre, and a most ardent friend of liberty. Superior to ambition, whilst he gave himself to every noble study not considering his own health or strength, in the mid-time of his days, seized with palsy, he was suddenly cut off. He died on the 26th February in the year 1750, aged - years 2 months.

This stone, sacred to his memory, is erected by his deeply affected wife Margaret Allan."

Captain Sir Samuel Brown, R.N., acquired the estate between 1822, when he married Mary daughter of John Home, W.S., of Edinburgh, and 1830. He demolished the old house of which we can find little trace, although some of the out buildings are obviously about the same age as the Walled Garden.

He built the present house which has been enlarged at some later date, probably about 1860 by John Ramsay L'Amy who built on the West Wing. My husband built out a small wing at the back, or North side of the house in the early nineteen thirties. We have not been able to discover the name of the architect employed by Sir Samuel Brown.

Captain Sir Samuel Brown was a man of science and acquired considerable celebrity by various useful inventions, in particular, his iron chain cables, In 1817 he obtained a patent for the construction of an iron suspension bridge. He built one over the Tweed (Union Bridge), but he is most famous for constructing the chain pier at Brighton, for which he was awarded a Knighthood by Queen Victoria in 1838. He built and designed many others. Extract from "Statistical Account of Berwickshire, Parish of Ayton, 1834, regarding Netherbyres and a new bridge, "The operations are even now far in advance and have produced a magical transformation on the place. The particular form of suspension bridge now erecting is Captain Brown's own invention, and which he calls a Tension Bridge, being supported by, instead of suspended from the chains.'"

St. Andrew's Church, Bolam



See pages 9-12.



This bridge crossed the Eye and afforded a new access to the property. It had to be demolished in 1929 as it was in a dangerous condition.

Captain Sir Samuel Brown died in 1851 at Blackheath aged 75, and was survived by his wife. There is no record of any children, so it would appear that he decided in his latter years to reside in the South of England, and sold the estate to John Ramsay L'Amy, Younger of Dunkenny, who in 1845 married Mary Riche MacLeod, daughter of William Mitchell-Innes, of Ayton Castle. In 1878 William Ramsay L'Amy of Netherbyres, married his first cousin Christian, eldest daughter of Alexander Mitchell-Innes of Ayton Castle.

The next owner was Mr. Gideon Gibson who sold it to a Mr. Hewat, who was connected to the Crow family. He spent most of his working life in the United States of America, but decided to return to his native countryside on retirement. He completely modernised the interior of the house without altering its appearance, but he died before he could enjoy his retirement, and his widow returned to the United States of America, as all their children lived there. My husband bought the estate in 1928.

The Coats of Arms on the front of the house are as follows :—

Over the large upper window are those of Captain Sir Samuel Brown, R.N.

Over the present front door, those of Ramsay L'Amy, and Mitchell-Innes, and on the gable of the new part of the house, those of my husband, Furness of Tunstall Grange.

The GARDEN OF NETHERBYRES

We think, having studied all the information we have been able to collect, that it is almost certain that William Crow designed the Walled Garden. A man with his qualities would take a delight in planning an elliptical wall, enclosing a mathematically conceived design inside it, of division and sub-division. This means it was constructed before 1750 which is the year in which he died.

The oval wall is built of stone on the outside, and one half is faced with Dutch bricks, the second half was obviously lower when first constructed. One imagines that before the trees grew up one could see into it from the house. Later it was built up to the same height as the rest of the wall, and the facing bricks are not exactly the same as the first ones though they may well be Dutch, but of a later date. These bricks would come over from Holland by sea as there was a thriving trade between

Eyemouth and that country, Eyemouth at that time being a very busy port, its main exports being wool and linen.

The Glasshouse was added at a later date, as it is not shown on the Ordnance map which was surveyed in 1856, but according to that map there was a fountain in the centre of the garden. This map also shows an extensive design laid out in front of the house of paths, shrubs, and trees.

It was evidently considered a garden of importance in that it is shown in such detail on this old Ordnance map.

We have found two tombstones mentioning gardeners at Netherbyres, which are quite interesting. The earliest is in Ayton Churchyard, and the inscription is as follows :—"Mary Clark, wife of Alexander Forrester, Gardener in Netherbyres. Died 18 Jan. 1856, aged 57. "and in Coldingham Churchyard, "Agnes Weir, wife of George Crookshank, Gardener at Netherbyres. Died 13th June, 1878, aged 49".

COLDINGHAM PRIORY EXCAVATIONS, VI

By DUNCAN NOBLE, M.A.

Excavations at Coldingham Priory continued for a second season from 8th to 24th April, 1971. The team included Mr. D. Price-Williams, B.A., assistant director and surveyor; Mr. J. Barfoot, photographer; and students from Whitelands College, Putney, and the University of London Extra-Mural Department.

I am most grateful to Lady Furness, President of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, and to the Committee and members for much encouraging interest and financial support. To Brigadier Swinton and Mr. T. D. Thomson I owe a special debt for their advice on many occasions and practical help.

To the Principal and Governors of Whitelands College thanks are due for finance which permitted Whitelands students to take part in the excavation. To Dr. J. Hazeldene Walker, of Whitelands College, the expedition is indebted for much assistance.

When heavy rain made it likely that the work started would not be completed, the successful completion of the operation was made possible by the most generous loan of a floodlight by Mr. Dryburgh, County Roads Surveyor of Berwickshire; thus excavation could continue under cover. In this connection we must record our appreciation of the good offices of the Berwickshire Constabulary.

Visitors to the site included Mr. I. Ritchie, Department of the Environment, Edinburgh, and Mr. C. W. Baker, F.R.G.S., of Peel Hospital, Galashiels.

The season of 1970¹ produced in the churchyard the doorway of a church beyond the west end of the present Parish Church, and apparently likely to extend under it. In the Abbey Yards field excavation disclosed two walls of a heavy stone building joined by the clay packing for a now robbed floor. Underneath was a mass of disturbed human bones and a burial in a grave lined and capped with shale slabs.

Further excavation was necessary before one could be certain of the relationship of the two churches, or, indeed, come to any evaluation of the Abbey Yards' remains. This was the state of affairs that the 1971 season set out to clarify.

¹Noble: Coldingham Excavations, IV; HBNC XXXVIII, 207.

Beyond the west end of the present Church a trench (B West End) was opened between the Priors' tombs and the Church. The walls of the porch of the earlier church were picked up on the same alignment as they had followed in the 1970 trench (A West End) which found the doorway. (Fig. 1).

Victorian excavation proved to have been along the line of the walls only, leaving the floor of the porch between unexcavated. This floor was on two levels. On the southern side of the innermost part of the porch the floor was of rubble and mortar, with lying on it a layer of very black earth, and over that a thin wash of mortar. This floor was just one metre wide and on the north side of the porch the floor was 10 cms. higher, and divided from the lower part by a vertical plastered step. This higher floor was also of mortared rubble, and two metres wide from south to north.

Immediately to the east of the porch, the walls and floor had been cut out by the foundation trench of the present Church and of the vestry which appears to the west of the Church in 18th century prints. These foundations were found.

Lying *in situ* on the floor underneath the black earth was a coin, a *denier* of Guy de Lusignan, King of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1186-1192. (Fig. 2). This is a most welcome and valuable piece of evidence which enables us to equate this early church with the one known from history to have been built after 1098, and which continued in use till 1216.

The two levels of the floor are most certainly contemporary. A possible explanation would be that the lower one was the passage out of the church, and the raised portion was a platform, such as might accommodate a font.

In the Abbey Yards the area of the burials was explored by trenches as follows :—

A/2 explored the burials and searched for the eastern wall of the building found in 1970 in A/1.

A/3 explored the outer side of the walls in A/1 and sought there connection with the standing ancient walls which provide the Abbey Yards from the church yard.

A/4 provided a section of the wall excavated in A/1.

A/5 linked A/1 and B/1 stratigraphically.

In A/2 the eastern wall of the building was found, represented by one course of ashlar masonry. Extensive investigation disclosed that this area illustrated several distinct phases.

I. There was a civil cemetery containing the remains of men, women, and children. This continued in use long enough for

there to be instances of bodies being placed on top of previously interred remains.

II. A man was buried in a stone lined and capped grave cut through the skeletons of the civil cemetery. His left femur was found to be fused to his pelvis. Dr. C. Hackett, of the Royal National Orthopaedic Hospital, London, has examined this skeleton and diagnoses the condition as septic arthritis with its onset in late adolescence. The deceased was, however, fairly active and propelled himself by means of his left foot and his hands or elbows.

Another cist burial some metres to the north awaits excavation.

III. A heavy stone building was built over the cemetery, founded on bedrock. Its walls were discerned in the north and south of trench A/1. To the east the position is less clear. One course of a wall was found beside a robber trench, but it did not extend down to bedrock.

Building these heavy walls necessitated the removal of skeletons which were then thrown in upon the top of the cemetery.

The dating of this building is a matter for further investigation. At the moment the building is seen to be mortared on to the standing ancient walls to the east of the Church, but to be earlier than them. Excavation (trench C/1) underneath the path between these standing walls and the south-east corner of the Church has shown a connection between the standing walls and the foundations of the Church. But two different building phases were seen in this connection, and the standing walls are most probably later than the foundations of the Church. Whether the building complex in the Abbey Yards is, therefore, of the same period as the foundations of the Church remains to be seen. The buildings in the Abbey Yards are certainly later than Edgar's Walls.

The indications at present are that the civil cemetery is earlier than the present Church, i.e. earlier than 1216, and sufficiently earlier for there to have been no feeling about disturbing it.

IV. A second building phase had walls inside the first phase's walls. They were built on foundations over the burials, and the clay packing for a stone floor extended between them. To the east the cemetery had its limit just underneath the wall of this building. It does not go beyond it to the south. It is just possible that the architect of this period was unaware of the existence of the cemetery.

SMALL FINDS

1. The coin has been mentioned already. I have to thank

Miss M. M. Archibald, Assistant Keeper, Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, for identifying it.

2. Iron corner plates. Amid the bones thrown back in during the building of the Phase III walls were found three right-angled pieces of iron (trench A/2). They were clearly corner plates of flat iron, on average 2.5 cms. wide, 0.3 cms. thick, and bent into an angle of which each arm was on average 6 cms. long. Through the extremity of each arm was a nail. They are most logically explained as corner plates for coffins. They are not associated with any particular burial.

3. Nails. That coffins were in use is further suggested by two iron nails amid the reinterment. No signs appeared of coffins having been used for the intact burials.

4. Finger ring. A copper finger ring with an external diameter of 2.3 cms. and a thickness of 0.02 cms. was found in the mass interment underneath the phase IV wall in trench A/4. The ring was of circular section, flattened of the inside, and had an unsoldered butt joint.

5. Decorated glass. Nine pieces of decorated glass were found in trench C/1 imbedded in a mass of clay in an unstratified context below the east windows of the Church. They are of a type found in the churchyard in the 19th century and are stained and painted brown and black, although this colour could be due to decomposition in the ground. The patterns are quatre-foils enclosed by a diagonal lattice background, trefoils similarly surrounded, square panels filled with lattice work, and sweeping curves, again with lattice around them.

Mr. M. Archer of the Victoria and Albert Museum has most kindly examined the glass and reports that this is the kind of glass used as a border round figures or as a background, and it is unlikely that it is of continental origin. He dates it to between the latter part of the 14th century and the middle of the 15th.

The season of 1971 produced a plentiful supply of skeletal material for osteological study, and showed that Coldingham is not just a two period site, but is more complicated. So far there are three rebuildings which can be associated with the present Church.

It is these rebuildings which now merit attention, and together with the search for the domestic buildings provide ample scope for further work.

COLDINGHAM PRIORY EXCAVATIONS, V

T. D. THOMSON, M.A., F.S.A.Scot.

For the first time the weather interfered with our work, mainly through its habit of breaking down at weekends. Several Saturdays in 1971 were lost in this way, and consequently progress was not as great as had been hoped.

However, the season got off to a good start and Mr. Noble's party from London were able to make excellent progress, which he describes on p. 17. In this connection it is heartening to be able to report that a grant from Berwickshire County Council enabled much of the Norman remains, immediately west of the present Church and exposed in 1970 and 1971, to be consolidated and left open to view; it was also possible to make a start on the repair of Edgar's Walls. (A further grant has been intimated for 1972). We are much indebted to the Ancient Monuments Division of the Ministry of the Environment for advice on this important aspect of our work and to Mr. Virtue and Mr. Cramond for its execution.

In Edgar's Walls we continued to work eastwards, reducing a further area to the Norman level. Almost immediately east of the second pillar of the north wall (PN2) a finely worked semi-circular channel stone appeared, set in the base of the north wall at the Norman level, though we are advised that it is a later insertion. This leads under the wall and rodding has indicated a clear path of 9 feet northward in the direction of the Cloister Well. Jammed between this stone and the wall stone immediately above it to the east was a crumpled sheet of lead, which is now under examination; it was pulled out of place by local youngsters but was retrieved and handed to me by Mr. James Gillies, a firm friend of the Club.

Southwards, this channel stone pointed towards the covered drain reported last year¹ but there does not appear to have been any connection with the latter nor with a much larger drain which came to light this year. The latter runs SSE from 5 feet south of the north wall, right across the interior of Edgar's Walls and under the line of the south wall. Its cover slabs are approximately at the Norman level; they vary from massive stones to what might be capitals from pillars such as those to be

¹HBNC XXXVIII 210.

seen in the Norman arcading on the north and east walls of the present Church. The investigation of this drain and of what appear to be vents associated with it will be an important task for 1972. A peculiar hearthlike structure found above the drain does not seem to be connected with it nor to have any immediately recognisable function.

Thanks to the presence of a party from George Watson's College Archaeological Society over a long weekend in June it was possible to expose PN₃ and PN₄ to the mediaeval level and the north end of Trench 4 was also taken down to this level.

The latter operation exposed the top of the next course in the central steps, which appears to be in much better condition than the dilapidated ones above it.

Baulk 2 was also reduced to the mediaeval level. At the north end fragments of pottery were found which Miss Elliot reports upon :—

“Seventeen sherds of dark grey fabric, glazed dark green and patterned with thumb and chevron markings, are important. Ten of these when reassembled make up a wall, neck and rim portion of a three-handled pitcher or jug, showing where two of the handles had fitted. The measurements of this portion are $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches with an internal rim diameter of 3 inches ; had the jug been complete it would have stood about 15 inches high. The sherds are of a Northern type of fabric and are probably mid-15th century. They will be discussed again when Area 2 pottery is reported on—and comparisons from other sites have been made.”

Some 6 feet south of PN₂ many more pieces of ironmongery were found in the same area as in 1970 ; when plotted these gave a definite impression of a door having burned on the spot. At the south end of Baulk 2 the series of postholes was found to be continued by a further fifteen, on a line which specifically indicates a temporary building erected later than King John's destructive visit in 1216. Other finds were few and unimportant, apart from anything which may turn up among the iron objects now under examination in the Museum. The care and interest shown by the Watson's party in their work in this tricky area deserve specific mention.



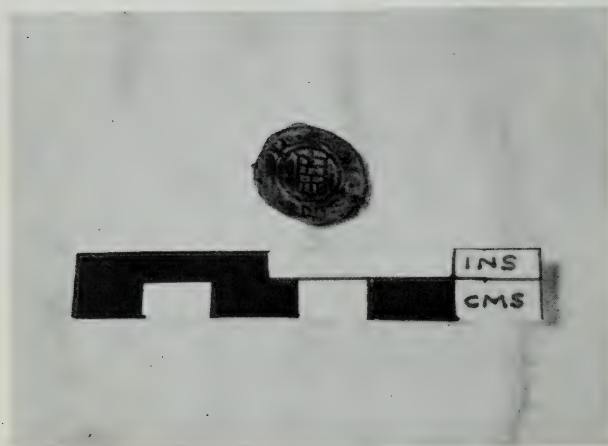
Trench A: West End. Entrance to the early church, showing the threshold.
Photo: J. Barfoot.



Trench A/1: The Phase IV wall in the Abbey Yard Field, with the heavy
 Phase III wall behind it.
Photo: J. Barfoot.



Coin of Guy de Lusignan—King of Jerusalem. c. 1190.



A

WEST
END B

CHURCH

C1



COLDINGHAM · 1970/1

0 5 10m

A3

A4

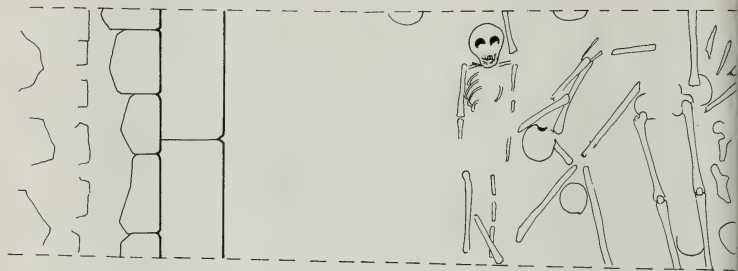
A2

A1

A5

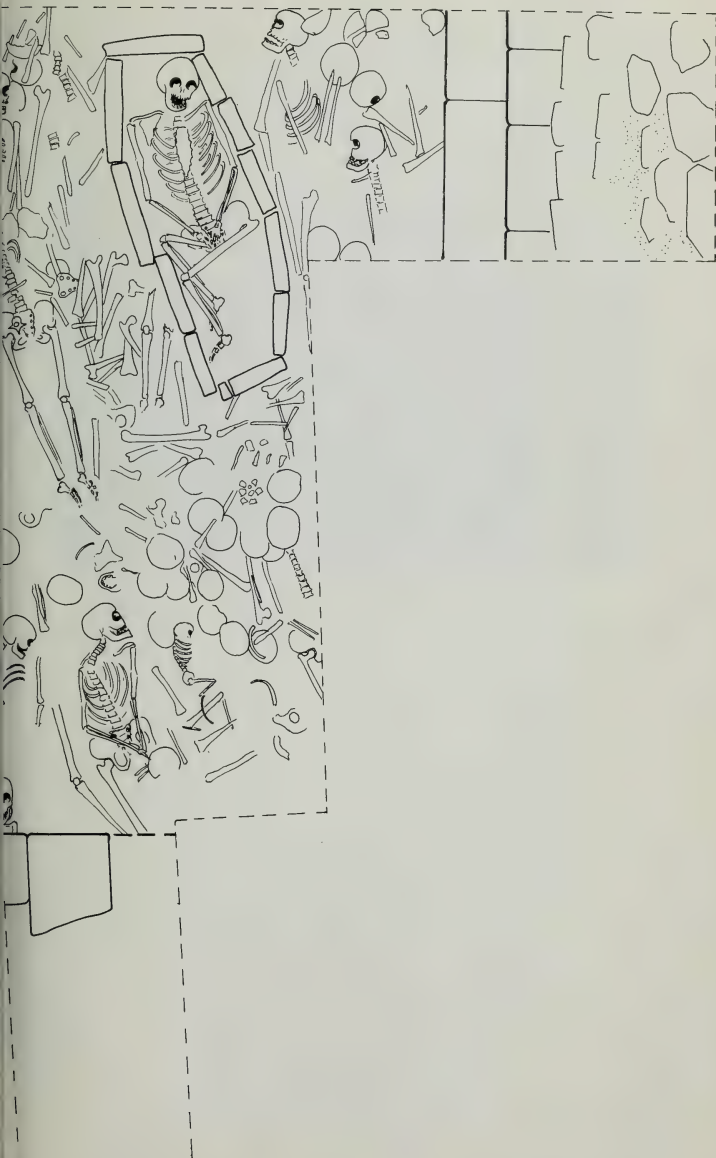
B1

EDGAR S WALLS



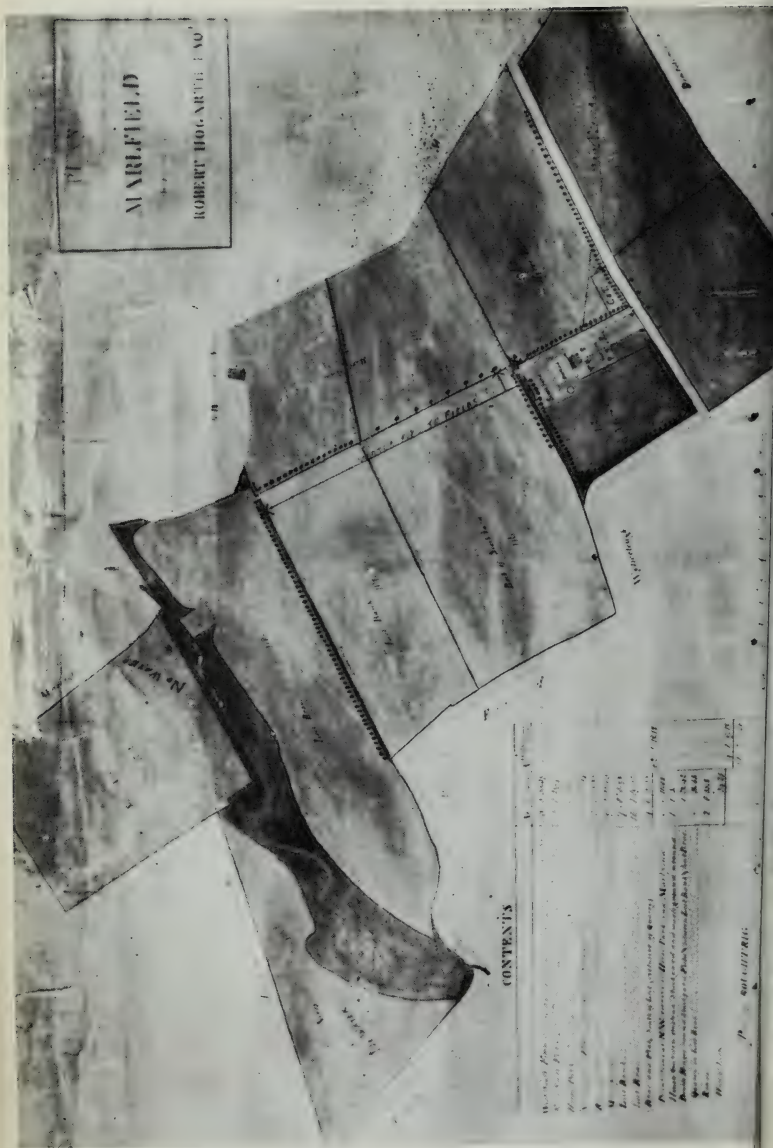
COLDINGHAM · 1970/1 A1, A2







'Gin-gang' Mill at Marlfield.



The above photograph of a Plan of Marlfield consisted of paper on a material backing attached by means of small tacks to wooden poles.

THE STRAIGHT FURROW

By K. M. LISHMAN

Introduction

The subject of this study is a collection of farm account books which cover the years 1887-1914. They were written by my great grandfather and were lent to me for the purpose of this study by my father.

I have chosen from the collection two small black, cash books which contain the farm accounts kept by my great grandfather, James Wilson, over the ten years 1887-1897.

The first book begins with a list of implements and stock which he bought when he took over the tenancy of Marlfield farm near Coldstream; it continues with entries of every item of expenditure on the farm for the next ten years. The other book contains details of his income from May, 1887, until June, 1904.

The Farm

The plan of Marlfield reproduced on page 000 was lent to me by the present owner of Marlfield, Mr. William Kerr. The plan is paper on a material backing and it is attached by means of small tacks to two wooden poles.

In 1887, when James Wilson became the tenant farmer, Marlfield was part of the Lees Estate owned by Mrs. Majoriebanks. The plan is dated 1844 and the farm was then the property of Robert Hogarth, Esq.

From the list of contents in the bottom left hand corner of the plan one can see that Marlfield was measured as being 66 acres, 227.36 poles; to this had been added part of Boughtrigg making a total area of 83 acres, 14.13 poles.

Several markings have been made on the original plan including the farmhouse to which James Wilson and his family moved from the village of Leitholm in 1887.

The new house was built some forty yards in front of the original house which I have marked on the plan. The cottages, too, had been added to the plan and must have been built with the farmhouse some time between 1844 and 1887.

When I visited the farm earlier this year I noticed that the walls of the old house still stand to a height of about ten feet and have been usefully incorporated in the farmbuildings. A waterpump stands at the end of the old house.

The name 'Marlfield' is interesting in that 'marl' is a type of clay soil and 'marling' was a recognised way of improving the quality of the soil much practised in the nineteenth century. "The usual practice was to open pits down to the marl or clay, dig and spread it at a rate of fifty to one hundred and fifty loads to the acre on clover ley or turnip fallow. In some cases trenches were opened all along the field and the clay thrown out on either side. By the action of the weather, drying and wetting followed by frost, the clay comes to a condition to be harrowed down after which it can be ploughed into the ground. The effects of 'marling' can be seen in increased crops, the production of better leys and pastures, greater resistance to drought and particularly an increased stiffness in the straw where manures are used to grow the crop."

R. H. Hall, *The Soil*.

"He that marls sand may buy the land,
He that marls moss may suffer no loss,
But he that marls clay flings all away."

One field on the farm is called Marlpond, as shown on the plan, and presumably this is where the greatest concentration of marl would be.

1892 and 1896

The two small books contain many items of interest, but, in the limited space available, I have chosen to concentrate on two years of farming as revealed by these accounts.

The accounts for 1887 and 1888 show deficits of £191 11s. 6d. and £34 os. 1½d respectively which is understandable in view of the initial outlay required to start farming. There followed three years of profitable farming then, in 1892, there was a loss of £80 1s. 2d. I have chosen to compare this year with 1896 in which there was a substantial profit.

Sheep

Most of the sheep bought for Marlfield were bought locally at Kelso, Duns and other nearby markets. In nearly every case the name of the farm from which bought in stock came is entered and throughout the ten years covered by these books some names appear again and again notably Elsdonburn.

For a number of years the tup hog was bought from the shepherd at the nearby farm of Swinton Mill including the year 1896.

The amount spent on sheep in 1892 was £95 19s. 0d ; in 1896 replacement stock cost £55 2s. 9d.

The amount received for sheep sold in 1892 was £171 19s. 2d. By 1896 income from this source had reached the sum of £270 10s. 4½d. and it is here that the greatest difference between the two years can be found.

The price obtained for sheep is much the same for the two years examined.

In May, 1892, 5 clipped (sic) hogs fetched 41/6 each ; in May, 1896, 7 hogs fetched 41/- each.

Ewes were slightly better in 1896 compared with 1892 : in September, 1896, "1 ewe, 3 crop" fetched 34/- ; in September, 1892, "1 ewe, 3 crop" fetched 30/-. This may, however, reflect the quality of the sheep sold rather than an increase in selling price.

The amount of money received for wool shows that there must have been a considerable increase in the number of sheep on the farm in 1896. In 1892 the wool was sold to Kyle, Kelso, for £7 12s. 0d. on July 29th ; odd amounts during the year brought the total figure to £8 15s. 6d. whereas in 1896 the amount received for wool sold to Russell and Ramsden in July was £21 9s. 8d. and odd sums during that year brought the total to £22 11s. 9d.

Lamb food for the sheep in winter and sheep dip and caps in the summer had to be purchased and in 1892 these items cost £3 3s. 0d. ; in 1896, due to the increase in the number of sheep, they cost £13 19s. 4d.

It is natural that sheep should have been the major project on the farm as before 1887 my great grandfather had been a shepherd.

Cattle

Most of the stock sold off Marlfield was sent to Newcastle market and the words "Newcastle with Clark of Greenlaw" appear frequently in the 'income' book. I learnt from my father that Mr. Clark supervised the transporting of stock from several farms to Newcastle market, travelling with them himself from Greenlaw station. He supervised the selling of them at Newcastle and for this service he received a fee which seems to have depended upon the price obtained.

The number of cattle on Marlfield from year to year must have remained more or less the same for in 1896 there is only one less

beast sold than in 1892. The figures below show that income and expenditure for cattle differed only very slightly in the two years under discussion.

1892	expenditure on cattle	£35 2s. od.
1896	expenditure on cattle	£33 18s. od.
1892	income from cattle	£169 15s. od.
1896	income from cattle	£158 6s 4d.
	(one less sold)	

The price obtained at Newcastle for stock in 1896 appears to be slightly higher than that obtained in the same month in 1892. In March, 1892, the average price for five steers is £16 7s. od.

The amount spent on supplementary foodstuffs for cattle in 1892 was £14 5s. 10d. whereas in 1896 only £8 4s. 9d. was spent. I have established that the number of cattle on the farm must have remained fairly constant so the difference in the figures here would seem to indicate that it was a good year for grass and that home produced oats were fed to the cattle.

I see from the accounts that no oats or hay were sold in 1896.

One term used in connection with the cattle which puzzled me was "quey"; again my father was able to provide an answer, "quey" being the old Scots dialect word for milk heifer.

The "luck" shown in the accounts refers to the sum of money given, as a gesture of goodwill, by the vendor to the farmer buying his stock; it is sometimes referred to as "the luck penny".

Horses

In 1887 James Wilson bought three horses for his first year of farming they were Kate, Lizzie and Bill which cost £26 os. od. £14 10s. od. and £20 os. od. respectively.

At this time the size of a farm was judged by the number of pairs of horses kept to do the carting jobs and work the land. The term "odd laddie" was common on the Borders, until tractors replaced horses, and referred to the young boy hired to drive the odd horse. In 1892 the following entry appears in the accounts :

November 28th. Paid boy's wage £5 os. od. R. Cockburn.

The cost of hiring a man and a pair of horses for a day's work was 8/- as shown below.

1887, May 26th. 4 days work for 1 man and 1 pair horses at 8/- day, £1 12s. od.

In 1892 the expenditure on horses amounted to £31 12s 6d. with a further £3 6s. 9d. paid to Haig the saddler. Of this £29 was paid for a horse at Blackhouse sale and the rest was paid "to McRobbie's man", which would probably be for service to a mare by McRobbie's horse 'Briton Heir.'

In 1896 one filly was exchanged for another with a balance to pay of £16 10s. od. The saddler's bill for 1896 was £1 11s. od.

There was no income from horses in 1892 but in 1896 a five year old brown mare was sold at Kelso for £27 10s. od. and 1/- was returned to the buyer for "luck".

As well as the working horse on Marlfield there must have been a pony for the gig which was bought at "Howpark sale" in 1891 for a sum of £7 2s. 6d. The licence for the gig was bought at Coldstream and cost 15/- annually.

Very few of the farm buildings at Marlfield have been altered since my father left it in 1914 at the age of eight; the stables, however, have been converted into a shed for wintering calves.

Pigs

Pigs at Marlfield must have been kept almost entirely for home consumption as there is only one reference, in the ten years covered by these accounts, to a pig being sold.

Farmers killed and cured their own bacon at this time and it was hung from the ceiling and used as required. When I visited the farm in September there were still some ceiling hooks in the kitchen of the unmodernised cottage. The cost of four ceiling hooks is stated in the accounts to be 6d.

There is no reference to pigs in either book for 1896 and in 1892 the only references are to fees paid for sows, presumably to farmers who kept a boar. One wonders from the entry for October 20th, 1892—Paid sow Earnslaw for May 12—3/- if the payment for a service on May 12th was withheld until the sow farrowed in October.

One possible explanation for the lack of references to pigs in these books is that the farmer's wife may have looked after the pigs and any profit would have been kept for house keeping.

This is almost certainly true as regards hens which are nowhere mentioned in the books; there must have been hens on the farm as henhouses were bought from time to time at local farm sales.

Crops

Land for the arable crops would be ploughed by a pair of horses and a hand guided plough.

The main crops on Marlefield were oats and barley and in 1892 the amount received for oats and barley sold was as follows:

Oats	£19 os. od.
Barley	£76 os. od.

In 1896 no oats were sold and the amount received for barley was £82 11s. od.

Unfortunately no weight is given of the grain sold so one cannot see whether more grain was sold in 1896 or whether the price was better. My great-grandfather went to the Corn Exchange at Kelso regularly and it is there that most of the buying of seed corn and selling of grain would be done.

Harvesting the corn and later thrashing it involved employing extra labour and from the accounts it appears the farmer fed the extra workers too.

One interesting feature on the plan of the farm is the marking of a circular building to the left of the 'onstead', this was the 'gingang' mill which was used for grinding corn.

The main structure was still standing when I visited the farm but the slates had been removed in preparation for demolition. The workings of the mill had been removed but I was told that it was driven by four horses yoked to bars which turned the wheel.

Most of the corn was taken to Coldstream to Lees Mill to be ground. In 1892 the bill for Coldstream mill was £13 9s. 6d. and in 1896 it was £13 14s. od.

Turnips were grown on Marlfield, and would be fed to sheep and cattle. The cost of the turnip seed would be included in the amount paid to Hogg and Wood seedsmen of Coldstream. In 1892 the amount paid to this firm was £16 15s. 4d. and in 1896 it was £12 3s. 9d. Two turnip shawing hooks were purchased in 1892 for 10d. each.

That the land was enriched by the addition of fertilisers is evident from the accounts. In 1892, for example, £18 19s. od. was spent on lime, the cost of carting the lime from the kiln at Eelwell near Lowick, Northumberland, was high and brought the overall cost to £29 3s. od.

In 1896 the amount paid for fertilisers was as follows

1 ton turnip manure	£4 12 6
2 tons Dis bones	£9 10 0
14 cwt. Super	£2 0 3
	<hr/>
Making total of	£16 12 9

'Dis' bones' would be a type of bone meal and 'super' is elsewhere referred to as 'superphosphate'.

Rents, Rates and Insurance

The rent of Marlfield was £65 a half year due at Whitsuntide and Martinmas. At these times too he paid a half share of the insurance of the farm buildings, which was 13/-.

There must have been an agreement with regard to the maintenance of the hedges and fences which allowed the farmer half the cost of the materials used. Tenancy agreements were not standardized then as they are today and I am told that such an arrangement would be unusual now as the upkeep of fences is generally the sole responsibility of the tenant.

As well as the 83 acres at Marlfield James Wilson rented grass parks every year. In 1892 a park was taken at Oxendean at a rent of £16 10s. 0d. and one at Midbank at a rent of £37 less discount of 18/6 making a total of £52 11s. 6d. In 1896 he again had two parks one at Boughtrigg at £24 7s. 6d. and one at Blackadder at £24 7s. 6d. making a total of £58 15s. 0d.

Unfortunately no acreage of these fields is recorded so that one cannot calculate how much land was in hand altogether.

As well as the rent of the farm there were rates, road rates and poor rates to be paid.

In 1896 rates were £2 15s. 10d., in 1892 these had been £2 9s. 5d. The Coldstream road rate went up from £1 9s. 5d. in 1892 to £2 2s. 4d. in 1896. The Eccles' road rate went up from 7/3 in 1892 to 10/9. Marlfield was in the Parish of Eccles, and the poor rates paid to Eccles Parish went up from 7/9 in 1892 to 9/9 in 1896.

One of the cottages at Marlfield was let in 1892 to Robson and in 1896 to George Paterson; the rent was £3 10s. 0d. a year paid in two instalments.

Implements and Maintenance

In this section I have included all accounts for repairs and replacement for implements; there were no new implements bought in either 1892 or 1896.

The total amount spent on maintenance in 1892 was £20 12s. 7d., this was mainly for hand tools, plough shares, reaper blades and accounts for repairs carried out on the farm. In 1896 the sum total was only £10 15s. 0d.

The plumber was paid on several occasions and it was nearly always entered as to Mrs. Ford, plumber.

Household

Household expenses were small: in 1892 £15 1s. 5d. is shown as for the house and in 1896, £5 7s. 3d. In 1894 James was married and lived in one of the cottages. In 1896 he received £10 0s. 0d. and his coals.

As well as this sum the farmer's wife would have the surplus butter and eggs to sell also, as I have suggested earlier, one or two pigs during the year. Most of the food would be home

produced so comparatively little money would be needed to run the house. The cost of new boots and repairs to boots are included in the accounts, but there is no mention of clothes of any kind.

Two items of expenditure which remained constant over the years were the 5/- twice a year paid to the cow club and 3/3 twice a year paid for the Kelso Chronicle, the local weekly paper.

The accounts for 1896 contain the only reference to a doctor (Dr. Henderson) and his bill of £3 15s. 6d. is followed by the chemist's (Elliot) account for 16/10.

The other items of interest in the 1896 records are the entry: "Infirmary by Forbes—2/6" which, I think would be a collection for the infirmary; and a donation of 2/6 to the Indian Famine Fund.

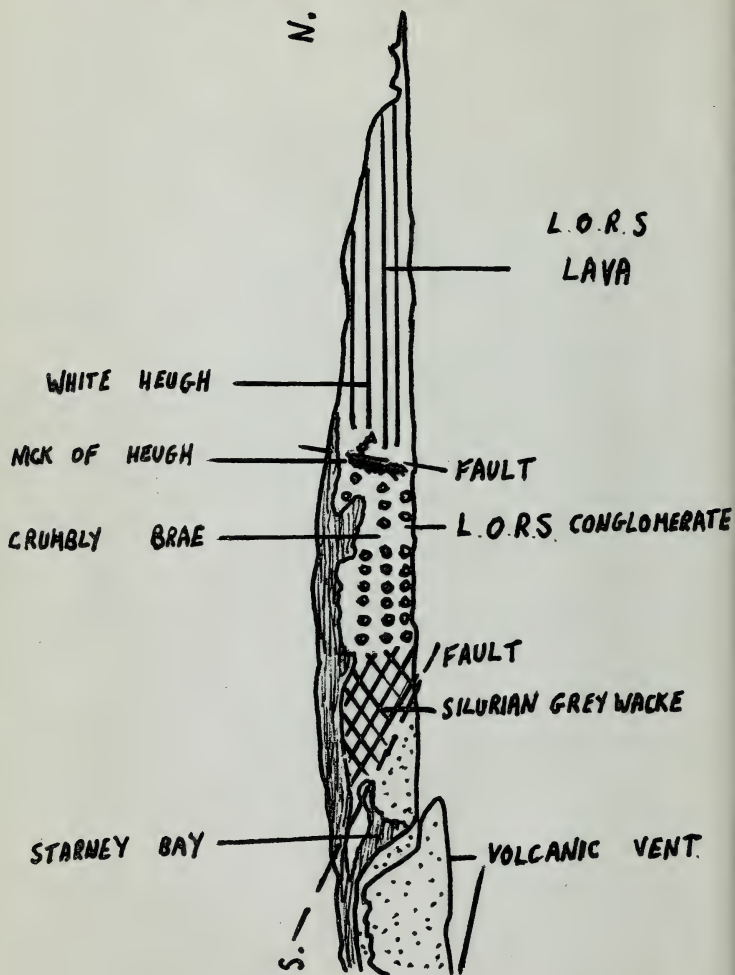
After studying these books I feel sure that the profits totalling £320 6s. 4½d. achieved in the four years following 1892 were largely due to money well spent on stock, fertilisers and maintenance of buildings and implements in that year.

In conclusion I have prepared below a profit and loss account for the years 1892 and 1896; this shows that the expenditure coupled with the increased income from sheep led to the substantial profit in 1896.

	<i>Income</i>						
	1892				1896		
Sheep	£180	14	8		£293	2	1½
Cattle	£169	15	0		£158	6	4
Horses	—				£27	9	0
Barley/Oats/Hay	£109	11	4		£82	11	0
Rents/Rates/Insurance	£3	10	0		£3	10	0
Implements/Maintenance	—				—		
Other minor items of income and expenditure	£35	19	8		£29	13	1
Total expenses and income	£427	11	4		£535	5	4½
Loss in 1892	£80	1	2				
Balances	£507	12	6		£535	5	4½

	<i>Expenses</i>						
	1892				1896		
Sheep	£99	2	0		£69	2	1
Cattle	£49	7	10		£42	2	9
Horses	£34	19	3		£18	1	0
Barley/Oats/Hay	£45	13	0		£28	15	9
Rents/Rates/Insurance	£189	1	5		£184	13	8
Implements/Maintenance	£20	12	7		£10	15	10

VIEW OF CLIFFS FROM ST. ABBS



Other minor items of income

and expenditure	£68 16 5	£65 7 0
Total expenses and income	£507 12 6	£418 18 1
Profit in 1896		£116 7 3½
Balances	£507 12 6	£535 5 4½

THE CLIFFS JUST NORTH OF ST. ABBS

By RENNIE WEATHERHEAD

A recent guide to Berwickshire has, as its cover picture, under the county name, a view of the White Heugh taken from near the modern village of St. Abbs. Undoubtedly the cliff scenery of Berwickshire is spectacular. The contrast between its coast-line and that of neighbouring Northumberland and East Lothian demonstrates Berwickshire's individuality.

The object of this article is to mention a little of the geology of the cliffs which form that great back cloth to St. Abbs harbour. The writer must acknowledge the assistance given by a member of the staff of the Institute of Geological Sciences, Edinburgh.

The sea birds in looking for nesting sites have shown preference for the ledges of the White Heugh, and so have given it its name. The White Heugh and the cliffs to its north are in fact solidified lava. Lava together with other volcanic fragments form the promontory of St. Abbs Head proper, the thickness of this being calculated to be 2,000 feet, the original layers now being tilted. These lavas belong to the Lower Old Red Sandstone (LORS) epoch. The rocks from Starney to Coldingham Sands are typical of the throat of a volcano with boulders of broken rock cemented in the old lava that welled up. This then is probably the source of the lavas of St. Abb's Head.

The guano covered cliffs stop abruptly at what is known as the Nick of the Heugh, an indentation. This is caused by a fault, or a slip in the rocks, which runs N.E. through the Mire Loch to Pettico Wick at the other end of St. Abb's Head. The cliff south of the Nick, and known as the Crumbly Brae, is red and much pitted. There is a small exposure of this rock at the side of the cliff top path above. It has many rounded pebbles in it, being known as pudding stone, or conglomerate. This has been formed by ancient rivers carrying pebbles and sand down to an ancient sea, and depositing them on the bottom. This happened in Lower Old Red Sandstone times. At one point it is apparent to geologists that the lavas of the Head lie above this type of rock, so dating the lavas.

Underlying the Lower Old Red Sandstone conglomerate, so older, is Silurian greywacke, and this is exposed on the cliffs near Starney. Greywacke is a type of hard sandstone. A glance at this part of the cliff from close quarters suggests that these are also sedimentary rocks. The rocks here are also tilted. Silurian gives the geological time of formation. The name is derived from a tribe of Britains who lived in a part of Wales at the time when the Votadini were here. These rocks are perhaps best seen looking westwards from Pettico Wick.

One last feature to be noted before reaching the remains of the old volcano starting at Starney is the yellowing of the greywacke at its junction with the volcanic rocks. There is a fault line running from S.W. to N.E. along this edge.

The outer harbour at St. Abbs is a good vantage point for the reader wishing to observe these features on a clear day.

RECORDING OF PRE-1855 TOMBSTONE INSCRIPTIONS IN BERWICKSHIRE

During the four years 1967-1970, a Survey of all the existing pre-1855 tombstone inscriptions of Berwickshire was undertaken by Mr. David C. Cargill, Honorary Treasurer of the Scottish Genealogy Society in collaboration with a number of Members of our Club and other helpers.

The Survey covered 48 old burial grounds in the 32 Parishes of the County and formed part of a much wider operation undertaken by other Members of the Scottish Genealogy Society in the following Counties :—Clackmannan, Dunbarton, Fife, Kinross, Peebles, Renfrew, Stirling and West Lothian. Lists for all these Counties and for Berwickshire have been published by the Scottish Genealogy Society, but some of the lists are now out of print.

Inscriptions on over 5,400 tombstones in Berwickshire were recorded and these include quite a number of inscriptions on stones which can no longer be traced but which were noted in the following Volumes :—

(1) "The Churches and Churchyards of Berwickshire" by James Robson, published in Kelso by J. & J. H. Rutherford in 1896.

(2) "The Post Reformation Symbolic Gravestones of Berwickshire" by James Hewat Craw, F.S.A., Scot., which appeared in Volume XXV of the history of this Club.

(3) "The Session Book of Bunkle and Preston" by J. Hardy, Alnwick, published in 1900, and also printed in our Club history.

The earliest date quoted is from a stone at Dryburgh Abbey, no longer to be seen, which recorded the death of Sir Adam Robson de Gleddiswood on 7th October, 1555. Two existing stones bear dates prior to 1600, and both are in very good condition, one at Foulden records the death in Foulden of George Ramsay "the last of the male line of the Ramsays of Foulden a branch of the family of Dalhousie" (Robson) who died in January, 1592. The other at Hutton commences with the death of Robert Home of Hutton Bell who died in 1564, and continues with a family history to 1678. Another early stone in good condition is in the old graveyard at Nenthorn House recording "ane verie honest man calit Alexander Stevisone quho departed ye 8 day of Januarue ye Zeir of God 1606."

The oldest symbolic stone in Berwickshire recorded by Mr. Craw is No. 47 in the Langton Old Burial Ground list and bears the inscription "Heir lys Alexander Wer 1620" and this stone, although broken in two, is still lying in the old Graveyard. At the other extreme, the latest symbolic stone in the County, as shown by Mr. Craw, is No. 22 in the Duns list, erected in memory of Jane, daughter of Thomas Stoddart, Joiner in Duns, who died in 1847 and of his son John who died in Edinburgh in 1860.

The graveyard of the old Lennel Churchyard in the Parish of Coldstream contained the largest number of stones, namely 380, and included in the lists are three stones in the burial vault at Nisbet Castle in the Parish of Duns recording members of the family of Carre, one time of West Nisbet and later of Cavers.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF WITCHES AND WITCHCRAFT SUPERSTITION IN THE EASTERN BORDERS

By RAYMOND LAMONT BROWN

Soothsaying, divination of all kinds, sorcery, witchcraft and the use of charms and spells, all rank with espionage and prostitution as the most ancient institutions in the world. And from Lamberton to Traquair, from Peebles to Edrom, from Jedburgh to Hutton, from Ettrick to Norham, there is hardly a parish which does not have a mention, in folk memory, of the supernatural, and of witches and their horrifying craft in general.

Once, when many of the good folk of the eastern Borders were pained with bodily ailments, or were pestered by troublesome neighbours, they made their way not to the physician, or the local magistrate, but to a "spae-wifie" or "wise wumman": who, for a few coppers, might cast a spell to get rid of the evil; or bring down a suitable punishment on those who had transgressed. Maybe an incantation of lockjaw for a nagging wife, or a plague of boils for a grocer who had given short measure.

In order to make an initial study of witchcraft in the eastern Borders a number of fundamental facts must be taken into consideration. There had existed in Europe from time immemorial, a number of inter-related but unorganised cults of an animistic or naturalistic essence: That is, from his earliest existence on earth, man had worshipped the animals with which he cohabited, and likewise the trees, plants and herbs of his habitat. He took, therefore, every form of life, flora and fauna, and gave it some kind of spirit or supernatural power. And in his primitive state man communicated directly with these spirits, adapting each for his own ends, be he hunter, arable farmer, or cattleman: Until sometime in his civilizing process there would grow up individual men and women (usually in family groups) who would devote themselves entirely to the petitioning of the spirits of earth and air, and later the various gods and goddesses.

The ordinary people of Britain did not take much notice of these soothsayers and herbalists during the Dark Ages (that long span of time from the departure of the Romans to the coming of the Normans), but these adherents of the old folk cults were to

be found in all parts. Their appearance did not incite horror among their neighbours, and should they happen to be punished at all, it was for turning the recognised "magic arts" (from herbalism to driving out of evil influences) to mischievous ends. For many centuries in England, Christianity was largely a matter of expediency, in short, pagan and Christian practice dwelt alongside each other amicably for a long time. A blind eye was cast towards superstitious practices and while the early priests and princes of the church openly condemned superstition and magic, by and large the clerics had more important work to do at grass-roots level in sponsoring the Gospel rather than in chasing after witches. When Christianity had a closer hold on all classes of society, with the coming of the Middle Ages, then witchcraft began to be viewed in a more precise light.

The systematic persecution of witches in Europe begun in 1450 and lasted for some 300 years until 1750. The surprising, and generally unknown, feature of the witchcraft which attracted the attention of ecclesiastical and civil authorities during this period (which I call the period of Classical Witchcraft) is that it was largely invented by the Papal Inquisition and developed by it and the Medieval Roman Catholic Church. It was the Papal Bull *Summis desiderantes affectibus* (5 December 1484) of Pope Innocent VIII which opened the religious war against so called witchcraft: And it was the infamous book *Malleus Maleficarum* ("The Hammer of the Witches", written by two Dominican friars, Jakob Sprenger and Heinrich Kramer) which became the indispensable authority for the belief in witchcraft. The latter work, of course, was a complete fabrication. Therefore, the belief in witches flying through the air, stealing children, undertaking orgiastic sabbats, concocting evil of all kinds were all thought up by the inquisitors. Thus by a gradual process of indoctrination it became in time believed and actually put into practice by self-styled witches, until a whole edifice of conventional witchcraft behaviour was firmly constructed and remained in that manufactured pattern almost everywhere it manifested itself. In this sense witchcraft was nothing more than a mass delusion, or a mammoth confidence trick.

The whole basis of Classical Witchcraft then, was substantiated primarily to give the Church in general a greater hold on its communities, and was later used by sundry politicians to discredit their enemies: For an accusation of witchcraft was a very convenient way of getting rid of those you didn't like. Because of the unique position of the eastern Borders the folk hereabouts came under the influence of two lines of thought on witchcraft. As far as the law was concerned the English

definition of witchcraft prevailed. And as like as not, those in the eastern Borders accused of witchcraft would be hauled away to Newcastle for trial and prosecution. But in the minds of the people of this area the Scottish interpretation of witchcraft was most favoured.

In no other country did the witch cult flourish more rankly. In no other country did the belief in witchcraft persist more lately. In no other country did the prosecution of witches rage fiercer than in Scotland. And in the Borders the setting for witchcraft was no more custom laid. The lonely hills of Cheviot, the wild untrodden moors of Hermitage, the echoing glens of Yarrow, the remote glades of Yetholm, seemed to all who visited them the very birthplace of hauntings and mysterious powers. Every rustle of an animal in the undergrowth, every breeze sighing through the forests was taken as proof of the presence of an inhabiting spirit. To the Borderers that realm of the supernatural known to the English as "faerieland", took on a more sinister aspect and became the "court of Elfame", a fearful country ruled over by the Devil himself, to whom witches and dabblers in magic were minions. Furthermore the motivation of the Calvinist obedience to the Divine Command was a real fear of the Devil. The extreme Scottish Protestants believed in the personification of evil in the shape of Satan as strenuously as did the Roman Catholics, if not more so, and the Scotsman's hypersensitive fear of the supernatural was to wreak terrible consequences.

Scotland is second only to Germany in the barbarity of its witch trials. The Presbyterian clergy acted like inquisitors and the church sessions often shared the prosecution with the secular law courts. The Scottish laws were, if anything, more heavily loaded against the accused. A protracted study of the differences between Scottish and English witchcraft law, persecution and delusion could be made at this point with the obvious overtones of political and religious intrigues. But these would only have a fringe relevance to the eastern Borders. What need only be established at this point is : 1, that men and women in Scotland, and thus the eastern Borders, were far more superstitious than those of the far south, and were consequently far more terrified of the dire consequences of the supernatural ; 2, when anything went wrong in daily life, people believed that the bad-luck had been "wished on them" by the magic of their enemies ; 3, that the average man and woman had a very unsophisticated mind and believed in Heaven and Hell as physical entities.

We know from the records and journals of the past that there

have been several folk suspected of witchcraft in the eastern Borders, and the local sources of reference carry notes concerning the major cases. Should one endeavour to make a personal examination of the references extant, however, read one after another they make little sense unless one has studied a great deal of witchcraft history. Nevertheless these are the main references for instance to witchcraft in the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed.

1. In a letter from Henry, Lord Hunsdon, who was cousin to Queen Elizabeth I, and who was Governor of Berwick and Warden of the East Marches, to Sir Henry Widdrington, deputy Governor of Berwick, dated 6 March, 1590, there is this note: That King James I & VI of Scotland was requesting that a "witch" dwelling in Berwick be surrendered to him. Apparently she had taken refuge in Berwick from the Scottish witch-hunters.

2. During the governorship of Peregrine, Lord Willoughby, another witch is recorded in the Berwick *Council Book* of 1598: "We find and present that, by the information and oath of credible witnesses Richard Swynbourne's wife hath of long time dealt with three several women witches for the bewitching of one William, garrison man, who did answer that they would not hurt him, but that a man witch must do it; which the said Swynbourne's wife hath confessed to this presently. . . ."

3. This case is quoted by John Sykes in his *Historical Register of Remarkable Events*: (30 July 1649) "At a private guild holden at Berwick, before the Rt. Worshipful Andrew Crispe, Esq., Mayor, Mr. Stephen Jackson, alderman, and the rest of the guild brethren, it was ordered according to the guild's desire, that the man which tryeth the witches in Scotland shall be sent for, and satisfaction to be given him by the towne in defraying his charges, and in coming hither, and that the towne shall engage that no violence be offered him by any persons within the towne."

4. In 1673 a certain Ann Armstrong of Birchen Nooke deposed that "on the second day of May laste, at nighte, the witches carried her to Berwick bridge end, where she saw a greate number of them". (See Surtees Society, Vol XL. *Depositions from the Castle of York* 1861).

From these four cases alone the researcher has to draw his own conclusions. In truth the country and county histories of the eastern Borders have little to tell of the prevalence of witchmania recorded in folk-memory: And the same goes for the records of the main Assizes covering this area. For instance

in the Palatinate of Durham, nothing relating to witchcraft has been found in the indictments for the years 1582-1719. Likewise the records of the Assize Courts of the Northern Circuit up to 1876 yield little. Therefore, this alone can be said: The eastern Borders certainly did not have any large witch trials. The nearest of any consequence being the John Fian case and the North Berwick Witches (which was to have such a direct influence on the witchcraft beliefs of King James I & VI).

Although there is this dearth of official material on witchcraft, one of the richest folk-lore legacies we have here in the Borders is undoubtedly the myriad of superstitions, a portion of which race-memory concerns witchcraft. Over the years I have been able to collect in the Borders, through personal interview with old folk, and assessment of ancient chronicles and journals, a representative sample of witch superstition of which the following are the most persistent.

Anything made of iron or steel (especially horseshoes) was highly regarded as a witch repellent, but perhaps above all others, salt was chosen as the most powerful anti-witch agent. Incorruptible in itself, with power to preserve other things from decay, salt soon became the emblem of immortal life and eternity, and was widely used to keep witches away. Dairymaids dropped a pinch into their pails before milking, and buttermakers did the same with their churns to avert the witch influences of evil. Sometimes cattle were smeared with salt before moving them to new pastures and many of the Tweed, Teviot, Blackadder, Whitadder and Till river fishermen sprinkled their rods, nets and boats for the same reason, to encourage the "good" influences around and to deflect witches.

A very ancient Border superstition was that a newborn baby was most prone to "witching". To keep the evil witch influences away from her child, therefore, a mother was earnestly counselled by the wise to wear a garment with three parallel slits, cut somewhere in the fabric, to act as a "drain" for the evil. Before maternity hospitals were established, home confinements were the general rule, and it was commonly believed that witches frequently attempted to prevent delivery. One of their methods of doing so was to make and tighten knots during a woman's labour. Therefore, the competent Border midwife saw, as soon as she arrived on the scene, that all knots in the neighbourhood of the delivery bed were loosened.

As time went by the methods for discovering witches became abundant; two basic methods, however, remained the most popular hereabouts. First, it was believed that if anyone was suspected of witchcraft, their innocence or guilt could be

determined by secretly driving a long nail into their footprints. If the suspect was indeed a witch, she would be compelled by the power of the metal to return to the footprint to draw the nail out. Secondly, was the age old "touching the victim". It was believed that if a witchcraft-murdered corpse be touched by the witch perpetrator, it would bleed afresh. (Incidentally, a witch called Janet Preston was forced to do this at York).

The trees most associated with witches in the Borders are hazel, elder and rowan. A holy tree from Celtic days, the hazel was much used in making rods to detect hidden veins of metal in the earth, and where a witch was concerned, all she had to do was to point a hazel rod at a victim to increase the power of her spell over him. But as most superstitions have an equal and opposite reaction, Border children (mostly those born in the Autumn) were often given the "milk" of hazel fruit mixed with honey as their first food, for that was deemed an antidote for witchcraft.

The elder with its very mixed reputation in superstition, was formerly considered the most unlucky wood to bring into a house. Even today folk around the western areas of Berwickshire will not bring elder into the house for they say it will cause a death to the occupying family within the year. It was further deemed important to make sure that a baby's cradle was not made of elder wood. For if this was so, witches could rock the cradle violently from side to side and do it some injury (witches were thought to sometimes transform themselves into elder trees). When an elder tree was felled should a profuse amount of sap issue from the severed end, the tree was not used for building or carpentry, for this was a sure sign of witch possession.

The rowan, or mountain ash, was considered a fortunate tree, with a power to avert witchcraft, disease and the ubiquitous "Evil Eye". A popular wood, for superstitious reasons, for building in the Borders, rowan gave it was thought extra protection to a house. This was achieved by tying with red thread crosses of rowan twigs above the lintel of a door: "Rowan tree and red thread gar the witches tyne their speed", was a well known saying in past days in the Borders.

Rowan therefore is a common tree in Border graveyards, to keep witches and evil spirits away; and one famous rowan protects the grave of David Ritchie of Woodhouse. Familiarly known locally as "Bowed Davie o' Wuddus", this $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high dwarf was made into a celebrity by the fact that Sir Walter Scott, who had met him in 1797, chose him as a prototype for his novel *The Black Dwarf*. Davie's last wish was that his grave be protected from witches by a rowan tree and his grave is to be seen

today at Manor Churchyard, Peeblesshire, surmounted by a flourishing rowan.

One very persistent superstition was that a witch's power could be destroyed by the letting of his or her blood: "Scoring above the breath" as it was called. This was achieved by scratching the witch above the nose or mouth; as the blood flowed so was the witch's power deemed to flow away. Raising storms was once considered within the province of witchcraft too; winds, hails, snows and thunder, folk said, could all be summoned by a witch just whistling. Dew collected on the morn of May day was considered potent for keeping witches away, and domestic pets were often smeared with dew for this reason. Owls neither escaped from the taint of witchcraft, their feathers and bones being used in the Borders for spells. Owl broth by the way, was once given to Border children who suffered from whooping cough.

Superstition in the Borders laid milk stealing at the door of witches, who were deemed able to milk cows from a distance by means of a magic milking-tube: Various charms were used to counteract these thefts, rowan twigs braided into the cow's tail, or a halter made from horsehair. At one time no one left empty sieves around or broken egg shells; as these were thought to be used by witches for transportation. During the trial of Anne Baites of Morpeth, in 1673, testimony was actually given that she had been often seen in an eggshell riding over field and hillock.

Clothes of all kinds were also kept out of a witch's way, in case she cursed them and thereby harmed their owners when they put them on. Likewise personal names were kept secret, in case a witch might use the constituent letters as a naming spell. For the same reason people took care when cutting finger-nails, toe-nails or hair, to make sure that they destroyed the parings or cuttings. Another persistent superstition in these parts of the Borders was that a witch could turn herself into an animal (usually a hare) at will. Further another persistent superstition was that witches made special ointments (out of the bones of dead children) for transvection. For those who are interested in taking the study of witch superstition in general, I have explored the subject in detail in my two books *A Book of Witchcraft* and *A Book of Superstition*, both published by Messrs. David & Charles Ltd. of Newton Abbot, Devon, in 1971 and 1970 respectively.

On the Scottish side of the eastern Borders three main cases of witchcraft practice are herein mentioned: But these are by

no means all, for witchcraft cases have been mentioned in the annals of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club at such places as Fast Castle, Hutton, Kelso, Westruther and so on. The first of the three above-mentioned cases may be called "The Lamberton Burning". In the parish of Mordington, near the old church of Lamberton, on a small hill called "The Witches' Knowe", two witches were burnt around the beginning of the eighteenth century. Unfortunately no documents, or contemporary accounts are extant in the public demesne, but it is almost certain that this witch burning would be one of local instigation. The Scottish Privy Council made a practice of granting commissions to "resident gentlemen and ministers to examine and try and execute witches" within their own parishes. Thus these pious men had a free hand to hunt witches and were often quick to do so. Herein, of course, was the danger; local bigwigs could use an accusation of witchcraft to get rid of troublesome neighbours and tenants. A piece of local doggerel immortalises the Lamberton case:

Owre the moor, near yonder kirk
We'll set the faggots in a lowe,
And wrap the hags in tar and towe;
And there we winna let them shirk,
But scowther them wi, broom and birk,
Bleezin on the Witches Knowe
Bleezin round ilk hoary pow,
How the hags will girn and gape:
SATAN in a corbie's shape,
Will come and take his pets away—
Sic a bleeze we'll hae the day:

Case two concerns Elizabeth Bathgate who practised witchcraft at Eyemouth around 1634. Her case, described with indictment in *Pitcairns Preliminary Trials*, is particularly interesting for the number of spells and incantations she is supposed to have used, to say nothing of the diversity of witchcraft practiced by her. Another piece of folk doggerel describes her antics:

Sandy Pae, the mautman
Is drinkin' wi' the sautman
And his wife Betty Bathgate
Is in the mill without a mate
And round she runs widdershins, widdershins,
She's sunken Geordie Houldie's ship
And drowned all his men and their equip
And with her devilish squad
Has made Tom Burgon's nag rin mad.

She's shaken Peter Trumbul's beer
And killed the cow o' Robin Weir.

And round she runs widdershins, widdershins.
And Sandy Pae the mautman
Drinks late on wi' the sautman
While Betty in her cantrups
Runs widdershins away.

We have instances here of destroying ships, killing cows and sending animals mad. Each category is mentioned in *Malleus Malleficarum*, thus it is interesting to note that this Papal distortion was still remembered in the eastern Borders in the early seventeenth century.

Case three concerns the witches of Auchencrow. Still pronounced "Edencraw" by the locals as it has for three hundred years, Auchencrow lies to the northeast of Chirnside. Sometime in the late seventeenth century the Sherrieff of Berwickshire, one Home of Renton, caused a poor Auchencrow woman to be burnt at Coldingham for witchcraft. We do not know what the indictment was against her, but Auchencrow has been associated with witches for a long time. According to kirk Sessions of Chirnside for May 1700, "Thomas Cook, servant at Blackburn, was indicted for scoring a woman in Auchencrow above the breath" (See above "scoring above the breath").

Another Auchencrow case of witchcraft in the early 1800s was that of Margaret Girvan, who was accused of causing a wind to flatten a local farmer's corn. This was quite a late accusation, for the 1604 Act *Anentis Witchcraft* had been repealed in 1736. In Auchencrow there were a great many "scapegoat cases" of witchcraft, with witches being accused of having sabbats at Bunkle Kirk, destroying boats at St. Abbs and so on.

Strangely enough many of the old superstitions concerning witches are still to be found in folk memory in the Borders and are as alive today as they were centuries ago.

Other books on Witchcraft by RAYMOND LAMONT BROWN:

SIR WALTER SCOTT'S LETTERS ON DEMONOLGY & WITCHCRAFT (SR Publishers 1968).

CHARLES KIRKPATRICK SHARPE'S WITCHCRAFT IN SCOTLAND (SRP 1972).

SOME FINDS FROM DOONS LAW (CAIRN), WHITSOME, BERWICKSHIRE

MAP REF. 868517, SHEET 63.

LENA R. ROBERTSON

Doons Law is a hillock lying about a quarter-mile N.E. of the farmhouse of Leetside, Whitsome. Crowning this hillock is an oval, stony mound raised about 4 feet above the level of the surrounding field. It is planted with trees and enclosed by a stone wall. When viewed from the South against the skyline the whole raised area has the appearance of a long barrow. This mound is mentioned in the 6th Report and Inventory of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments for Berwickshire, published in 1915, as a supposed cairn and adds that "Roman" remains were found there in 1831.

Surface examination of the ploughed slopes surrounding this site produces artefacts of all ages. During visits over the past two years I have picked up numerous flakes of flint and chert, and several pieces showing secondary working including a finely worked "thumb" scraper of dark flint. Recently, quite close together, I found a silver coin and what is possibly a gaming piece. The silver coin has been identified as an English silver penny of Edward I or II and, though in poor condition, the crowned head of the King can be made out on the obverse and a crossed or quartered design can be seen on the reverse. It was minted in London and was probably one of the many English coins poured into Scotland at that time. An interesting point about this type of silver coin was brought out by Dr. Ian Grimble in the television programme "Who Are The Scots?" He suggested that the quartered design on the reverse of these coins was used in commerce, i.e., the coin could be cut into its quarters to make lesser values for trading.

The possible gaming piece is bun-shaped, of grey, porous stone and is about 20 mm. in diameter and 10 mm. high. It is silk-smooth to the touch.

This hillock of Doons Law and its slopes must, in prehistory times, have been a refuge and perhaps a dwelling place above the wide areas of bog and marsh. The name seems to be from the Celtic "Dun".

Leetside has many areas of interest. The small fort of the Battleknowes is mentioned in the above 6th Report and Inventory. It is said to be 280 yards West of the farmhouse. The name of the field where this (?) raised area is found is the Spital or Spittal Field. As Gauld, in his book "Brave Borderland", notes traditions of the Knights Templar lingering on in Whitsome district, this name may be of interest. A Temple Well was known and again "Roman" remains are mentioned. The low ridges or walls can be faintly made out beneath the grass of the field just above the curvings of the streamlet of the Leet. Quite considerable reactions with divining rods can be had in this area—the sensitive holder can find them moving with great activity over certain of these ridges.

To the East of the Spital Field a cauldron was found in 1827 and various cists have been unearthed on Leetside over the years. On my most recent visit to the Spital Field area, in the ploughed land just to the West of the farm steading, I picked up the handle of a large pottery jug or vessel. It has longitudinal ridges and a little of its original green glaze remains.

A. R. Barclay, Esq., farms at Leetside and I am very grateful to him for allowing me to walk his fields.

THE FAMILY OF REDPATH

Some ten years ago my sister and I began to compile a family record, for the benefit of those descendants who might wish to know something of their ancestry. Our task proved both urgent and rewarding, for almost all the facts had been passed down to us orally; and those few persons from whom we could seek confirmation were themselves aged. By the end of 1965 the main facts had been checked and set down at considerable length—thanks largely to my sister's retentive memory—but we had made little progress in extending our knowledge of the Redpath side of our family. Our mother's father, William Redpath, was the second son of George Ridpath (born 1782) who, in 1808, obtained the tenancy of a smallholding in North Northumberland that was to remain in the family's occupation for 119 years. We had gathered much information from 1808 onwards, but nothing of our great-grandfather's origins.

Then, in November 1966, our attention was drawn to an entry in "The Grammar of Heraldry" by Samuel Kent, and published in London in 1716. Among subscribers to this book

was "George Ridpath, vulgo Rippet or Rippeth, Gent., who takes his name from a Barony in the shire of Berwick ; takes for his Paternal Coat, argent, a chevron ingrailed between three Boars Heads erazd, Gules. The Crest a demy Bear, Bristled and armed, Or." (In Scotland a barony is, of course, a large Manor). Helped by this scrap of information, we pursued our search and have gradually pieced together the following account of the early history of the notable Border family of Redpath : facts which may be of interest to those bearing the ancient name, who have not yet pursued their own inquiries. We gratefully acknowledge the unsparing assistance given us by librarians and other well-wishers.

The hamlet of Redpath, in Berwickshire, stands on the left bank of the Leader, about two miles south of Earlston. Three miles to the south-west is the famed Melrose Abbey, founded by David the First of Scotland and liberally endowed by him. Redpath is said to have contained some 600 inhabitants before its close connection with the Abbey was severed by the Reformation ; following which the village gradually sank into decay and insignificance. The immediate neighbourhood was almost certainly the location of the original estate of the de Redpaths "of that ilk", from the close of the 13th century until 1619, when its lands were sold. The heraldic usage "of that ilk" carries the meaning "of the estate of the same name as the family" : so that the Redpath family's early connection with that village appears to be conclusive.

The earliest sparse records of the family are restricted to the names of the eldest sons to whom the estate descended in due succession : but it is not without interest that their Christian names—William, Alexander and Robert—follow fairly close in time to those of the Scottish monarchs of the period. These names, with that of George from 1433, have continued in constant family use down the centuries, with father to eldest son for three hundred years ; until, in 1619 it is recorded that Thomas Redpath and his son Thomas sold their lands to a certain Ralph Ker. Writing in 1722 Nisbett, the Scottish authority on heraldry, stated that the Redpath family "of that ilk" were then extinct.

Though the main stem had died, it had put forth vigorous shoots from the beginnings of the family's recorded history, as the younger sons in successive generations acquired land of their own ; at first near the main Redpath estate, but gradually farther afield, in a general north-easterly direction, but keeping close to the Scottish side of the Border. From 1333 onward there are documents cited which indicate the range of that dispersal. Between 1333 and 1374 references are made to Alexander

Redpath of Dirington (some fifteen miles from the parent estate); while in 1378 a Thomas Redpath and his wife Marion are shown as resident in Preston. In 1474 William de Redpath, who then entered into a deed of agreement with his elder brother Thomas, is described as "of Greenlaw". About 1550 the third Thomas de Redpath in the main line received a grant of land in Preston from Mary, Queen of Scots, for himself and his second son Andrew. (There is a village or hamlet of Preston some twenty miles from Redpath, and beyond Dirington). There are also records of families named Redpath resident in Edinburgh by the end of the 16th century.

From the foregoing it may be inferred with some degree of confidence that those who have inherited the surname of Redpath or Ridpath are descended in continuous male line from the ancient family "of that ilk" through some younger son who "hived-off" before the direct line of succession became extinct in the seventeenth century. (An exception would occur in the unlikely event of the surname having been adopted in time past—legally or otherwise—for some particular purpose, such as inheritance). This clear and comforting link with the past is seen as less remote when it is realised that the whole of the period from 1300 to the close of the present century may have been spanned in fewer than twenty-eight generations.

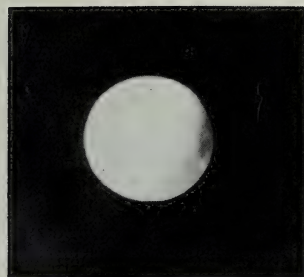
The variant spelling of "Ridpath" was certainly in use by the end of the seventeenth century. It may have come about through the softening of the name in speech to "Rippeth", which itself follows a recognised pattern.

In our own case the reversion to "Redpath" took place about 1845.

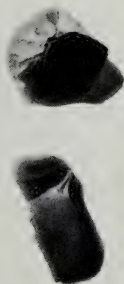
Perhaps the most detailed account of one generation of Ridpaths is contained in the well-known "Diary of George Ridpath, Minister of Stichel". The 1922 edition of this work was published by T. and A. Constable; and edited, with notes and an introduction, by Sir James Balfour Paul, C.V.O., LL.D. The editor states that the diarist's father, George Ridpath, was minister at Ladykirk from 1712 to 1740. There were three sons, George, Philip and William; all three destined to become Presbyterian ministers. The eldest, George, was born at Ladykirk Manse in 1717, and was educated at the University of Edinburgh. He became a scholar of some distinction, with a deep knowledge of the classics; but is described by Sir James as calm, level-headed and unemotional. In 1742 he was presented to the parish of Stichel (now Stitchill), where he remained as minister till his death in 1772. He married late in life and had one son, George, of whom nothing is known, and who may have died in infancy. The diary consists largely of an



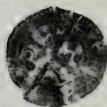
Handle of pottery jug.



Gaming piece.



"Thumb" scraper of flint.



English silver penny of Edward I or II.

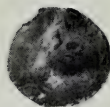


Photo: J. M. Carrick.

account of the daily life of a minister, but is relieved by occasional entries such as that of June 29th, 1757. "Went to Melrose . . . My namesake of Gladswood, from sacred love of gain, is destroying a considerable part of these beauties that is his property. The rest belongs to Haig of Bemersyde". (By "namesake" the diarist evidently means one bearing the same name; but he does not claim relationship). As Gladswood is not much more than a mile downstream from Redpath, one is tempted to identify this owner who aroused the minister's ire with that George Ridpath, Gent., included in "The Grammar of Heraldry" in 1716. In that case, the proximity of his barony to the ancestral estate, coupled with his entitlement to the Paternal Coat and Crest, suggests a close relationship with the Redpaths "of that ilk".

Amid all his parish duties and family affairs George found time to write his monumental "History of the Borders", which must have entailed much concentrated study, and which is still regarded as a standard work on this subject. Before his death at the age of 55 he had seen his two brothers presented as ministers—Philip to Hutton, near Berwick, and William to Edrom. Quite recently a friend's keen and clever research has disclosed that William of Edrom had three sons, also named George, William and Philip; and I am hopeful that a connecting link with our great grandfather, George Ridpath, may yet be found.

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What is it that urges on some of us (notably the elderly) to inquire into our ancestry? Probably a growing awareness of the continuity of the generations, and a realisation that family characteristics and quirks continue to be passed on: above all, the belief that a clear link with the past can provide firm anchorage in the restless and ever-changing world of today.

William Redpath Johnson.

Dr. GEORGE HENDERSON OF CHIRNSIDE (1800-1864)*

By WM. S. MITCHELL

The interest of the medical historian is apt to be concentrated on great names or spectacular discoveries, but a study of the humbler members of the profession should not be disdained, since much may be learned of their day to day lives, of their thoughts and aspirations. The byways of history may be no less interesting and instructive than the highroads.

I have recently had the opportunity of perusing two volumes of manuscript journals, or commonplace books written by Dr. George Henderson of Chirnside in Berwickshire, which afford glimpses of the life and opinions of a country practitioner of a century ago. The author was the eldest son of John Henderson and his wife Frances Purves, and was born on 5 May, 1800, in his father's farmhouse of Little Billy in the parish of Bunkle, two miles from Chirnside, and six miles east of Duns, the county town of Berwickshire in Scotland. Little Billy was one of several small farms, the buildings of which were taken down in 1813 when the farms were incorporated in that of Billie Mains, from which it was distant about half a mile, in prosperous agricultural lands in the heart of the Merse and commanding a magnificent view of the valley of the Tweed looking towards the Cheviot Hills. The name Billy, which is the Celtic *baile*, a dwelling place or village, occurs in Billy Castle, the ruins of which stand overlooking a stream not far from the modern farmhouse. The castle belonged successively to the Dunbar family, to the Earls of Angus and to King James V of Scotland. It was destroyed by the Earl of Hertford in 1544 during the 'War of the Rough Wooing'.

After being educated in the local schools of Bunkle and Lintlaw, George Henderson matriculated at the University of Edinburgh in session 1825-6, but he attended only one class, that of chemistry, before he transferred to the Royal College of Surgeons, whose Licence he obtained in 1829.

He returned to practice in Chirnside, where he remained for 35 years until his death in 1864. He married in 1836 Margaret Hood, who was twenty years his junior and who died in 1894. They had six children, of whom only one survived infancy; this was Robert Hood, who became Chemist and Registrar in Chirnside, and who died in 1915.

*Based on a paper read to the Scottish Society of the History of Medicine on 12th June, 1957.

Dr. Henderson had literary inclinations and published two volumes, *Scenes of Boyhood and Other Poems*, Berwick upon Tweed, 1840, and *The Popular Rhymes, Sayings and Proverbs of the County of Berwick*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1856, which is still worthy of perusal by anyone interested in local customs and folklore. His poetry may not be first class, but it does show a keen appreciation of the beauties of nature, particularly as exemplified in his native locality. Dr. Henderson was a founder member of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, and contributed several articles to the early volumes of its history; his *Rhymes of the County of Berwick* first appeared in this form.

The manuscript journals mentioned are in two volumes, totalling 653 pages bound in half calf, lettered *Nugae medici*, and with the ticket of George Johnston, Murray Street, Dunse (the old spelling of Duns, and one which more faithfully indicates the pronunciation). The author says in his preface, which is dated 13 July 1853, that he was inspired by reading Luther's *Table Talk* to write down 'some reflection or observation for every day during one annual revolution of the globe'. These were based on his 'Notes and Journals of Former Years', though these seem to have disappeared. He goes on to say that had a country surgeon of a hundred and fifty years previously compiled such a book it would have been eagerly read in his day, and he makes the true prophecy that 'a hundred years hence some one may turn over these pages with very great interest'. Throughout the journals there are many references to nature. He was a keen botanist, and he gives many lists of flowers he found in his wanderings.

There are some plants (he writes), which, though not noted for their beauty, are yet great favourites with me: among these are *Typha latifolia* or *Reed-mace*, the *Bur-reed*, the *Water-bennet*, and some others. These were plants familiar to my infant years. . . . The localities in which the above plants are always found may conduce to render them, in some measure, more dear to us. . . . In such localities too, there frequently grows up and blossoms in luxuriance the tall *Willow-herb*, the *Bull-rush*, the *Common-rushes*, the splendid yellow *Iris*—and not far distant the fragrant *Meadow-sweet* with its floating snowy plumes—the wild *Angelica*—the *Hemlock Dropwort*, the spiky *Mint*—and the light waving hairgrasses, etc. In scenes like these we delight to revel! Our fancy haunts them day by day—and even in our dreams, they are frequently reproduced, in new and more varied combinations, and in more gorgeous, though oft fantastic bloom. (I, 80-1).

It need not surprise us that he mentions his idea of Heaven as a place where trees, shrubs and flowers abound.

He was widely read, and quotes Latin and Greek, French, German, English and Scottish authors, as well as the classical medical authors such as Hippocrates and Galen. He was interested in the history of medicine; he mentions Freind's

History of Physic and wishes that there were a better and more up to date one. To judge by his wife's complaints (which he records) he devoted too much money to buying books, and too much time to reading them. He not only read—he learned by heart poems to repeat on his journeys. He writes :

When riding by night, either to or from my patients, I find it a good plan to prevent me from wearying on the journey, to keep repeating some piece of poetry. On coming home this morning I repeated aloud for many times, Addison's beautiful hymn 'The spacious firmament on high', etc. 'Tam o' Shanter' is an excellent poem to recite on a night journey also Gray's 'Elegy'. Thomson's 'Hymn on the Seasons', etc. Such an exercise keeps you warm and comfortable. In a rough tempestuous night it is particularly pleasant to recite aloud some sublime strain of the olden time. I would recommend every country surgeon to commit to memory one at least of the books of Milton's 'Paradise Lost'—and use it as a stimulus in a cold night journey. (I, 28-9).

His library, amounting to about 2,500 volumes, was sold by auction in Duns on 15 and 16 December, 1864, and there is a copy of the sale catalogue in the library of King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne. It appears to have been a good collocation, larger than one might expect to have been collected by a country practitioner of the time. His medical books show no great rarities, but they include Freind's *History of Physic*, Hunter *On the Lues Venerea*, Whytt *On the Nerves*, and several Latin works, together with a number of runs of periodicals, including the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*. His general collection is fairly wide, with the works of many poets, much biography and many works on botany and natural history.

His journals are reflections on life in general rather than a picture of his working life, but nevertheless certain glimpses of his lot are given. He worked long hours, riding in all weathers to visit his patients over a wide area. One of his recurrent worries was how to obtain payment from his patients without bullying them. His fads and fancies were numerous: he abhorred not only alcohol, but also tea and tobacco; he hated draughts, and once came out of church during a service to avoid one. He would have preferred to live as a vegetarian, but in this he was thwarted by his wife.

I have no doubt that vegetarians have the true side of the question—the fact is, without flesh as a food, we would be much stronger, healthier and livelier than we are. I am convinced that all flesh-eating, even in small quantities, is injurious to us. But custom is strong and inveterate, and the very prevalent, but utterly fallacious idea that *animal food* is more nutritious than vegetable, has so fastened itself in our minds that we cannot get rid of it. I am very much inclined to be a Vegetarian, though I cannot yet go the whole hog: and the women-folks are so most atrociously opposed to it, that I shrink from their reproaches. (II, 3).

He disliked the use of such 'popular' medical works as Buchan's *Domestic medicine* and the *Receipts* of Moncrieff of Tippermalloch.

From the Memoirs of Mr. Wm. Smellie, the printer, I learn that though Dr. Buchan was the originator of the *Domestic Medicine*, it was entirely written by Mr. Smellie—a work which has done an immense amount of evil in the world. But no matter!—it was the source of much wealth and fame to the reputed author, and to the publishers ;—and to this day it, and similar works, bring much profit to publishers and booksellers—and go on propagating mischief among the multitude. In so far as the real good of mankind is concerned, popular medical works are complete humbugs. (II, 28).

He is no less outspoken on the use of patent medicines :

Mrs. B., who is in a condition of chronic weakness, languishing and nervous irritability, has used *Holloway's* pills for six months past. She often took ten pills for a dose ! No wonder she is weak : such treatment would kill a horse. The doctor is of little avail to such a person—she has run down the vigour and power of her system by these cursed Pills, and medicine will not build her up again. It is shocking that so many fools and idiots make their bowels a thoroughfare for Morrison's, Holloways, Paris and American sugar-coated Pills!—or even for *doctor's* Pills. I maintain that nothing deranges, undermines and destroys the health so effectually as a long continued course of drugs, take them in what form you please. Such means do frequently adjust the machinery of life, and set free the else clogged wheels—but a long use of those Pills destroy the wheels altogether, so that no after patching, cleaning and oiling can renew or set them to rights again. (I. 210).

Among the folk cures recorded by Dr. Henderson are two for whooping cough.

There is a popular remedy for Hooping (*sic*) cough, sometimes practised in the country, of which I cannot find the origin. It consists in putting the patient *nine times* through below the belly, and over the back of an ass—and this process to be repeated for nine successive days ! Whether the ass must be a male or female I have not learned. (I, 38).

Nine, or three times three, is, of course, a favourite number in spells or incantations, and Dr. John Ritchie, of Edinburgh, has mentioned to me that this particular 'cure' had a religious basis in that there is a cross on the back of an ass, an animal associated with the Saviour ; he also states that the ass had to be of the opposite sex to the patient to be treated. The second 'cure' is perhaps even more curious :

An individual told me today, that when a boy, ill of Hopping-Cough, at the recommendation of an old wise woman, his mother, for the cure of that disease, tied round his neck a number of 'hairy ouberts'—(the larva of the common red butterfly (*or rather of the red tiger moth*, *W.S.M.*) sewed up in a piece of cloth—and with evident success ! (II, 170).

He mentions the custom of cutting the cheese on the birth of a boy, a duty which devolved on the physician present at the delivery.

The *first cut* of the cheese is divided into small square or oblong pieces—which are called the ‘cuckolds cuts’ : I cannot tell for what reason. These pieces are used by the young unmarried females, friends or acquaintances of the patient as a sort of charm ; they lay them below their pillows, that they may dream of *their future husbands!* (I, 318-19).

The memory of this custom remains in Berwickshire, but the custom itself seems to have died out some eighty or ninety years ago.

Dr. Henderson’s dislike of tobacco has been mentioned ; he several times refers to this, but one eloquent passage will be sufficient quotation :

What an awful, pestilent, monstrous and detestible system this puffing and smoking of Tobacco is ! The solemn puff ! puff ! whiff ! whiff, whiffing of a regular smoker is truly maddening to a person of unsophisticated mind. It is a real mystery of iniquity. But what would our government do were this smoking abolished ? It profits largely by the delectable custom—it would be ruinous to put it down. It also makes work for the doctors. Tippling, feasting and tobacco-smoking and snuff-taking sow the seeds of disease on every side. The fruits are poverty, disease and death. It is a melancholy sight to see so many young persons engaged in the foul and pernicious practice of smoking : it is the first downward step to vice and misery. (I, 15).

In one entry in his journal he breaks into verse on the subject of alcohol, giving ten reasons why it should not be taken :

There are I think
Ten reasons why men should not drink—
It hurts the health, depraves the taste,
and sinks a man below a beast.
It melts the purse ; dissolves the tie
Betwix my dearest friend and I,
It shuts out reason, lets in folly,
and paves the way to melancholy.
Excess in drink inclines to rambling
Excites to whoredom, vice and riot,
And banishes all peace and quiet ;
Excess of drink destroys our souls,
Our death-bed’s curse our flowing bowls. (II, 122).

He had original views on piles :

Piles are certainly a cause of longevity. I believe my father was an instance of this. In youth he was of a tender constitution, and was frequently ill, and all his brothers died in the flower of their age of consumption. About middle life he was attacked with Haemorrhoids, and till his death in the

83rd year of his age, was periodically affected by them. They seemed to be an outlet to some morbidity of constitution, and tended to keep him alive to old age. (I, 24).

His dislike of draughts was such that he once left the church during the service rather than endure one :

I can stand anything but a draught of air from a door or window. At the Meeting yesterday (Sep. 21) but stayed little more than an hour : the window opposite our seat being up half a foot at least, felt a cold stream of air blowing upon my right cheek, neck and shoulder, which became quite chilled in a few minutes—and I sat in pain—so at last I rose up and came out, considering that the good I might get from the sermon would never counterbalance a sore throat, a month's toothache, or a six weeks rheumatism. It is a deadly thing when a church or house is so absurdly ventilated that there are constant thorough draughts of air through it. I would rather sit on a mountain side, like the covenanters of old, than in a thorough draught in a church. (II, 25).

He records a link with the medicine of medieval times in the person of 'the water-doctor' :

The *Merse* in the days of our great-grandfathers seems to have been deplorably desitute of doctors. *Old women* had all the practice then going. A *Dr. Blackie*, about 80 or 90 years ago, lived in Coldstream, who was called '*the Water doctor*', because he depended mainly on the inspection of the urine of his patients, as an indication of their diseases. How far he was successful in this mode we cannot tell, but he was popular in his day—and patients sent their *water* to him in bottles etc. from a considerable distance, and he frequently prescribed for them without seeing them in person. We believe that an epitaph in Rhyme is to be seen on his tombstone in Lennel Churchyard—from which he seems to have been a very worthy individual. (II, 31).

Dr. Henderson devoted thirty-five years of his life to serving his patients in Chirnside and the surrounding district, and he died, according to the inscription on his tombstone, 'much regretted for his universal kindness and benevolence'. In a moment of discontent he wrote on one occasion :

Perhaps the three worst situations that a man can be in are to be at the head of a government, to be in jail, or to be a poor country surgeon. It requires many peculiar qualities to enable a man to be any way comfortable in the latter situation. (II, 198).

But it is pleasanter to take as his summing up of his lot these words:

True, I have had my cares, anxieties, perplexities and griefs—as who has not—yet I do not think I could change my condition with anybody.

THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION—SWANSEA, 1971 REPORT

This is the third time the British Association for the Advancement of Science has met in Swansea. The first meeting took place in 1848, one hundred and twenty-three years ago. The members, we were told, at that long ago meeting, travelled to Swansea either by stage-coach or boat. The second visit was in 1880.

We learned that the medieval quaintness of the old town centre was almost completely destroyed by air-raids early in World War II.

The University College of Swansea commands a wide prospect of the surrounding countryside. It stands in the grounds of Singleton Abbey, beautifully situated on rising ground; commanding a prospect which is truly marvellous on all sides, sea, hill and dale, clad with a most extraordinary mixture of industry of various kinds, both modern and ancient buildings giving to the onlooker a most curious medley which is quite unforgettable.

The usual Inaugural Meeting was held in the principal hall of the city—taking the place of an ancient building completely destroyed by enemy action. During the usual procession, always most impressive, beautiful music was played by J. M. Fussel, M.A. Fanfares were sounded by trumpeters of the Welsh Guards, by kind permission of Colonel Wallace, commanding the regiment. The conferment of Honorary Degrees then took place. The Pro-Chancellor, The Right Hon. Lord Morris, commenced by saying that Sir Alexander Cairncross, Knight Commander of the most distinguished order of St. Michael and St. George, Fellow of the British Academy, Master of St. Peter's College, Oxford, and for this year, President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Lord Morris continued—after four years teaching in Cambridge in 1939, Sir Alexander embarked on the first half of what was to become probably the most distinguished career in the public service of this country. The Chancellor continued; he has an international academic reputation in economics. Lord Morris added—Sir Alex commands the profound respect, and if I may say, the affection of our entire profession.

The President Elect for 1972 is Sir Vivian Fuchs. He will

preside over the meeting at Leicester in September. Sir Vivian's unique contribution to exploration and scientific research over a period of 40 years, will we are sure, be an example and an inspiration for generations yet to come.

After this most impressive ceremony, The Right Worshipful Mayor of Swansea, Councillor A. J. K. Hare, J.P., welcomed the Association to the city, and invited the President to deliver his address—entitled *Government and Innovation*. Thereafter Sir Alex commenced his address by saying "that for many years it had been the practice of the British Association to call on a natural scientist and almost invariably a Fellow of the Royal Society to deliver this Address; no professional economist has ever done so before. An economist elevated to this position must find it hard what to say to his colleagues, but the President said—with the caution natural to one who has spent upwards of twenty years in the Civil Service—I have hedged a little by choosing a subject, half of which, is at least home-ground. In the course of his address Sir Alex remarked; at the beginning of the 19th Century it was France, not Britain, that led Europe in the sciences, but on the other hand it was Britain who was acknowledged leader in technological innovation. The President then ended his most learned address by saying "any modern government concerned to achieve a faster rate of economic growth, will look with favour on technological innovation, but, he continued, it would not be wise to form long expectation of what it might do by direct action, to promote this.

As usual I tried to attend as many lectures as possible; principally Sec. (H) Archaeology, as these I find most interesting. One address was entitled "The Archaeology of Gower." "The tradition of Wales" was another—this was given by E. G. Bower, Emer. Professor of Geography and Anthropology, University of Wales. In the course of his paper, he remarked, that even during the occupation by the Romans, there was some Christianity present. This address was most interesting.

Another lecture attended was "The history of St. David, in Wales." There were also lectures on British Gipsies.

South Wales has a most magnificent coast-line and there are so many beautiful cathedrals, also countless ancient and historic castles, that one is thrilled by the beauty all around.

Snowden, 3,560 ft. is the highest mountain in Wales and indeed in England; it dominates the countryside. Caerphilly, is one of the largest Welsh castles—it dates from the 13th century.

Kidwilly Castle lies close to the industrial heart of South Wales, yet the town nearby has its own sleepy charm.

I must mention the Earl of Plymouth's most generous gift of St. Fagan's Castle and grounds, to Cardiff. This gift made this extraordinary and interesting Welsh Folk Museum possible. The Museum represents the life and culture of a nation, and illustrates the arts and crafts of a bygone community. Wandering through the spacious and lovely grounds, with all its wealth of antique articles too numerous to mention, time was all too short, as Swansea lies some 26 miles from Cardiff.

This memorable week, as usual, seemed to be "winged" and the final day arrived all too soon.

At the Meeting of the General Council which I attended, a report was brought forward as to the future role of finances and management of the Association. The report first of all reflects on the seriousness of the financial situation. Evidently the Council of late years, has not found it easy to raise enough revenue to keep the income balanced. They intend to reconsider the role of the Association and to decide what activities to give priority to. They decided that too much is concentrated on the Annual Meeting and not enough between Meetings on popularizing Science amongst the youth of our country.

One resolution was unanimously agreed upon, that the 1972 Meeting to take place in Leicester, should commence on 4th September and end on the 9th.

Sir Alexander Cairncross, the President, explained that no firm resolution has as yet been made by the Council. There were two possibilities depending on finances available by 1973:—

- (1) A Meeting in London.
- (2) or a Meeting somewhere in Europe.

Thereafter the Meeting closed with warm appreciation to The Lord Mayor and citizens of Swansea for their most kind hospitality during this most memorable week in the Principality of Wales.

I now take this opportunity of thanking the Council and Members of The Berwickshire Naturalists' Club for the great pleasure I have had representing them as their delegate to so many beautiful and historical places all over the British Isles, for twenty years.

(Sgd.) Margaret Hewat McWhir.

REPORT

Z. CARRICK, F.S.A. (Scots.)

One day Meeting by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

THE TWO ROMAN WALLS

On Saturday, May 1st, 1971, the above Society held a one-day meeting in the Library of the National Museum of Antiquaries, Queen Street, Edinburgh.

The theme of the meeting was : The Two Roman Walls, i.e.

- (1) Hadrian's Wall.
- (2) The Antonine Wall.

The assembly was limited to one hundred members, owing to the restricted space of the Library.

A full attendance was recorded, and welcomed by Dr. Anne S. Robertson, of the University of Glasgow, who acted as Chairman and introduced the Lecturers, these were :—

Prof. Eric Birley, University of Durham.

Mr. R. E. Birley, Director of Excavations at Vindolanda.

Mr. Ian MacIvor, Inspector of Ancient Monuments (Scotland).

Dr. David Breeze, Inspector of Ancient Monuments (Scotland)

The Lectures—illustrated by means of sketches and colour transparencies, covered past and present work at the Walls, and in the Forts and Camps appertaining thereto. Also an interesting “Pilgrimage along the Antonine Wall” (from the Firth to the Clyde) was undertaken with Dr. Anne Robertson, by means of colour slides and film.

Dr. David Breeze, made a “Comparison between the Two Roman Walls,” illustrating the ages and difference in construction and style etc. :—

A general discussion and questions followed, then Prof. E. I. C. Stones, University of Glasgow, Chairman of the Ancient Monuments Board for Scotland brought the proceedings to a close with a vote of thanks to all.

This was a most interesting and instructive meeting thoroughly enjoyed by all present. In view of the popular demand for this meeting it is hoped to arrange further “one-day” courses on other subjects, in the near future.

NATURAL HISTORY OBSERVATIONS DURING 1971

Notes compiled by A. G. LONG, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne ; with records by D. G. LONG, Col. W. M. LOGAN HOME and GRACE A. ELLIOT.

LIVERWORTS. Numbered as in *Census Catalogue* (4th Edition). All records by D. G. L.

- 10/5 *Riccia glauca*. Hallington Reservoir. VC. 67, NY 962763, Sept. 13.
- 10/8 *R. sorocarpa*. As above.
R. cavernosa. As above. This species has been confused with *Riccia crystallina* until recent years in Britain.
- 10/14 *R. huebenerana*. Colt Crag, VC. 67, NY 926780, Sept. 13.
- 20/9 *Fossombronina wondraczekii*. As for last species. Also at Catcleugh Reservoir VC. 67, NT 731038, Sept. 14 ; Watch Reservoir VC. 81, NT 664561, Oct. 7.
- 66/2 *Odontoschisma denudatum*. Moor above Killmade Burn. VC. 81, NT 655605, Oct. 7.
- 70/13 *Scapania nemorea*. R. Dye near Rathburn, VC. 81, NT 687571, Oct. 7.
- 70/19 *S. subalpina*. As above.

MOSESSES. Numbered as in *Census Catalogue* (3rd Edition). All records by D. G. L.

- 12/1 *Ditrichum cylindrichum*. Colt Crag, VC. 67, NY 926780, Sept. 13 ; Watch Reservoir VC. 81, NT 664561, Oct. 7.
- 21/1 *Pseudephemerum nitidum*. Watch Reservoir, VC. 81, NT 664561, Oct. 7.
- 22/5 *Dicranella rufescens*. As for last species.
- 49/6 *Tortella flavovirens*. Fast Castle, VC. 81, NT 860711, May 18.
- 52/8 *Weissia rostellata*. Hallington Reservoir, VC. 67, NY 962763, Sept. 13.
- 53/1 *Leptodontium flexifolium*. Moor above Killmade Burn, VC. 81, NT 655605, Oct. 7.
- 62/6 *Ephemerum serratum* var. *serratum*. Watch Reservoir, VC. 81, NT 664561, Oct. 7.
- 73/10 *Pohlia bulbifera*. Colt Crag, VC. 67, NY 926780, Sept. 13 ; Watch Reservoir, VC. 81 NT 664561, Oct. 7.

- 73/11 *P. annotina*. Watch Reservoir as above.
 77/28 *Bryum micro-erythrocarpum*. As for last species.
 77/30 *B. klinggraeffii*. Catcleugh Reservoir, VC. 67, NT 731038, Sept. 14.
 138/12 *Brachythecium populeum*. Fast Castle. VC. 81, NT 860711, May 18.

VASCULAR PLANTS numbered as in Dandy's List (1958).
 Records by A. G. L.

- 28/1 *Botrychium lunaria*. Moonwort. Gordon Moss, VC. 81, NT 64. Three plants found by Mr. Waldie in grass verge near north side of old railway track approaching east end of Moss, on Club's Botanical Meeting, June 19.
 Last century a specimen 14 inches high was found in right-hand bog from Gordon (*H.B.N.C.* 9, 229, 293).
 123/12 *Silene noctiflora*. Night Flowering Catch-fly. West Blanerne farmyard, VC. 81, NT 85, July 3; also in stubble field at Edrom Mains, VC. 81, NT 85, Sept. 26.
 206/15 *Vicia angustifolia*. Narrow-leaved Vetch. Gordon Moss, VC. 81, NT 64, abundant on railway side, June 19.
 544/3 *Centaurea cyanus*. Cornflower. Two plants in West Blanerne farmyard, VC. 81, NT 85; also many on seeded verges of Morpeth new bypass doubtless introduced, VC. 67, NZ 18, July 3.
 558/2/7 *Hieracium aurantiacum*. Orange Hawkweed. Gordon Moss, VC. 81, NT 64, on old railway side, June 19.

The following Hawkweeds were identified by P. D. Sell (Cambridge) through Dr. F. H. Perring.

- 558/1/47 *H. schmidtii*. Dowlaw Dean near foot. VC. 81, NT 87, 15/6/1963.
 558/1/73 *H. britanniciforme*. Burnmouth sea braes, VC. 81, NT 96, 7/5/1961.
 558/1/99 *H. grandidens*. Newton Don, VC. 81, NT 73, growing in grass sward near trees north-east of house, 11/7/1970.

ENTOMOLOGY.

Lepidoptera records.

- Euclidia mi*. Mother Shipton. Gordon Moss, VC. 81, NT 64, flying by day, May, 18.
Hadena bombycina. Glaucous Shears. St. Baldred's Cradle, E. Lothian, VC. 82, NT 68. At rest on red sandstone seat, May 19.

Chiasmia clathrata. Latticed Heath. Gordon Moss, VC. 81, NT 64, June 19.

Ourapteryx sambucaria. Swallow-tailed Moth. Wooler, VC. 68, early July, G. A. Elliot.

Allophyes oxyacanthae. Green-brindled Crescent. At rest on wall near Legerwood Church, VC. 81, NT 54, Oct. 7.

ORNITHOLOGY

Chiffchaff. Singing in an Oak tree near Duns Castle, Club meeting, June 4.

Wryneck. A single bird on passage in early autumn was seen at Swinton House by Mrs. E. K. Swinton and Col. W. M. Logan Home who reports: "We had very close views of the Wryneck here, from 5 to 20 yards. It was present all day. However, it has been a sort of Wryneck "year." No fewer than 15 were on the Isle of May and stayed several days eating ants. There were also several on Fair Isle, and 2 pairs actually nested in the Spey Valley and brought off several young. I have noticed a marked decrease in certain summer migrants: very few swifts, no whitethroats, and no sedge warblers anywhere near here. There were no reed buntings on Greenlaw Moor and tree sparrows have become scarce." It is of interest that Muirhead knew of only one record of the Wryneck in Berwickshire when he wrote his book *Birds of Berwickshire*.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF DR. JAMES HARDY WITH
MRS. JANE BARWELL-CARTER

Letter 26.

Oldcambus, Jan. 21, 1875.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

The loss of the letters to Mrs. Thompson will be a great one. It is just possible they may have been destroyed, as bundles of old letters only accumulate dust, and your mother may have had the same feeling about them that I have, that they are sometimes so much below what they might have been in the quality of their contents, that they were better out of the way. However, this may be, I have been enquiring at two of my friends, if they possess anything of the kind. One of them, Mr. Robert Gray, says he never corresponded with your Father, but he has one letter—apparently directed to Dr. Scouler once of Glasgow—which he has among his collection of autographs. If it is worth anything he will likely give me a copy, if I request it. The other, Mr. Robert Hislop, Blair Bank, Falkirk, has 3 letters, but they are locked up in a drawer, of which the key is lost. He intends to get the lock picked, and send the letters to my care. . . .

I have been quite occupied with writing articles for the Club. Nobody yet has aided me to any appreciable extent, but I have written almost enough for one number. . . . I could easily fill the book, but I don't wish to do more than my just share. . . . There should be some provision for paper writing. If I was to become occupied with something else, I don't know what they would do. I do not say this out of presumption, for actually the whole burden of providing the "Proceedings" with matter, is thrown upon me. The printer is getting on pretty rapidly this year.

We have had a fortunate break up of the storm, but I have been scarcely away from my own circuit as yet. The poor thrush kind have almost disappeared since the hard treatment they had on the coast, when they would probably consume all the aliment they could find. I have found several dead birds scattered here and there.

I am working to get through, and almost see day-light, but some days feel very much inclined not to do anything, but to be extremely lazy and read one of the many books, I have not looked into ; and then the thought that the printer may overtake me, urges me on afresh. How comfortable it is, to have nothing to do with printers at all.

I hope you are keeping well. It is rather warm out of doors after one walks a while, and apt to give one a cold.

Believe me,
Dear Mrs. Carter,
Yours most truly,
James Hardy.

P.S.—Thursday. We have snow again. We will be better prepared this time. I hope it will be only transient.

Note.—Robert Gray, F.R.S.E., F.S.A. Scot., lived in Edinburgh and became a member of the Club in 1874. Notice of his death is given in *H.B.N.C.* 12, 79 (July 1888). He contributed several articles on the birds of East Lothian in Vols. 7-9.

The Mr. Thompson mentioned in the opening sentence was probably William Thompson of Belfast. See *Correspondence of Dr. George Johnston*, p. 458.

John Scouler, M.D., LL.D., F.L.S. (1804-1871) contributed examples of sponges to Dr. Johnston's *History of British Sponges*. See *Correspondence of Dr. George Johnston*, p. 211.

Robert Hislop (1815-1880) educationist, compiled a "List of the rarer Coleoptera occurring chiefly in the Parish of Nenthorn" in *H.B.N.C.* 6, 335-343. He collected at Lurgie Loch before it had dried up and mentioned that Bladderwort grew in the pools of water. See *Correspondence of Dr. George Johnston*, p. 190.

Letter 27.

Oldcambus, Feb. 16, 1875.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I beg to return the two interesting letters, you have favoured me with a sight of, along with a small packet of your Father's and Mother's letters, which I have borrowed from Mrs. Spoor (Mr. Tate's youngest daughter) on your behalf. . . . I am writing an obituary notice of her brother for the Club, and hence this correspondence. . . . I have been very tired now and again, but had to begin again to do what I could to supply matter. A long article has come at length, all the way from Dorsetshire, which will fill up the number to overflowing. It concerns the

Spiders which I have been collecting in the Borders from 1871-4. How your Father would have hailed this contribution to his favourite "Eastern Borders"

Please excuse this line, as I have been busy all day.

Believe me.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

Yours very truly,

James Hardy.

Note.—George Ralph Tate, M.D., F.L.S. (1835-1874) was the brother whose obituary notice Hardy wrote in *H.B.N.C.* 7, 334-7.

Letter 28.

Oldcambus, March 15, 1875.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I now return Mr. Cunningham's letter to you, having now received the result of his enquiries, which thanks to your kind intervention, were perfectly successful. I wrote to him, and also Sir Walter Elliot, on Saturday night; and having secured this information about a scientific borderer, I must congratulate you as being a most useful member of the Club; and not only on this, but on other occasions, a small hint from you, has led to the more perfect knowledge wanted. This is the great advantage of being acquainted with a large number of the best of people.

Since I wrote you I have received for you the few letters of your father sent to Mr. Robert Hislop. They relate to the Corporation Academy. . . .

I have not seen much, since I wrote you. It has been piercingly cold and I have not been able to go much out, and have to fight with headaches, etc.; but I got a walk today, and saw the Cormorants, and Herons, and ducks on the rocks, or afloat in the cold sea. The linnets that used to be so numerous and cheerful appear to have migrated this year, as I never hear them. But the Thrush and Blackbird have revived their notes, as well as the Lark. These impart a spring feeling to one's walk, although the sameness of winter is now becoming tiresome, and we begin to long for fresh colouring, and balmy breezes. . . .

I see Dr. Gray has been taken away, following Sir Wm. Jardine. In a short time, there will be few of your Father's contemporaries left. Mr. John Hancock has written an interesting account of the Birds of Northumberland and Durham for the Tyneside Club, with plates. They have more funds than we, and are helped by a grant from the Natural History Society.

Still what we produce is more readable than their almost strictly scientific work. . . .

I hope you have been able to cope with this ungenial winter successfully. It makes one thankful to have a fireside to sit at.

Believe me,

Dear Mrs. Carter,

Yours faithfully,

James Hardy.

Note.—Dr. John Edward Gray, F.R.S. (1800-1875) was keeper of the zoological collection, British Museum and one of the editors of the *Annals and Magazine of Natural History*. See *Correspondence of Dr. George Johnston*, p. 190.

Sir William Jardine, Bart., LL.D., F.R.S. (1800-1874) became a member of the Club in 1832 and was President in 1836. An obituary notice was written by his daughter Mrs. Strickland, in *H.B.N.C.* 7, 402-5.

John Hancock (1808-1890) was instrumental in raising funds for building the natural history museum in Newcastle. After his death it was named the Hancock Museum in honour of John and Albany Hancock both naturalists well known to James Hardy.

Letter 29.

Oldcambus, April 5, 1875.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I beg to return you the letters you kindly sent, along with Mr. Hislop's enclosures, lest they get mixed with my own, or the Club's, correspondence. . . .

I am sorry to hear your servant has been unwell—she appeared to be a quiet careful woman. It is not easy to find people to suit one, in these times, having the old fashioned ties of attachment that prevent them, from shifting about; therefore a good servant adds greatly to domestic comfort, and deserves a return for the attention which she gives.

I hope you are getting quit of your cold. Everyone seems to complain of the penetrating rigour of the past winter. I have been trying an Insect hunt last week, but one requires to be well wrapped up. One requires to do something to get the mind off its winter ruts. . . .

Having obtained the history of James Richardson Logan, we are now in search of that of Capt. Forsyth, an East Lothian man, who wrote a work on Central India. His mother was a Brown of Whitsom Newton, and I see the present proprietor is named Forsyth Brown, for some reason or other. I am not sure that

the life of Mr. Thompson who wrote a Flora of Berwick, was ever fairly told. I have heard of several others worthy of commemoration, since I began to enquire.

With best wishes,

Believe me,

Dear Mrs. Carter,

Yours faithfully,

James Hardy.

P.S.—Please return Mr. Hislop's series to his address, lest I neglect them if sent to me.

Note.—John Vaughan Thompson, army surgeon, wrote *A Catalogue of Plants growing in the Vicinity of Berwick-on-Tweed* (1807) and numerous papers on Crustacea. See *Correspondence of Dr. George Johnston*, p. 85.

Letter 30.

Oldcambus, April 14, 1875.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

The proposal of advertising for any of your Father's letters is not likely to be attended with much result. Your Father's contemporaries have now either left the stage, or there is a mere lingering remnant; and it may be doubted if your request would ever reach them. No one of his correspondents, if they could be sought out, could come up to Dr. Gray, Mr. W. Thompson, of Mr. Bowerbank, who were representative men, and the loss of these is a great one. I do not think your Father would have time to have a very extensive correspondence with any but those interested in his own particular branches of study, or who took a part in the promotion of those literary schemes he took in hand. These are known men, and if any of them survive would be better reached by private application. The most likely party to whom you could write is the printer of the *Annals of Natural History*. I suppose it is still J. E. Taylor, Red Lion Court, London. It used to be chiefly under his management. You might ask him to make a statement at the end of one of the monthly numbers, of your wishes. This was the only Magazine to which your Father contributed. The "*Athenaeum*" is extensively read, but its contributors and readers belong to a different generation. "*Notes and Queries*" is of no use in this case; and I have been impressed with its triviality in most instances. The advertising sheet of the *Times* is so ample that few have time to read it.

You have not yet tried if any of the Baird family have letters in their possession. . . . The worst of it is that relatives remove

to other and more commodious houses, and destroy letters as waste paper. Your father also thought very favourably of Dr. Macgillivray and reviewed one of his books, and it was through him that the LL.D. from Aberdeen was conferred. There will be some letters there, if that is correct. Your Father used to send his Fungi to the Rev. M. J. Berkeley, but I do not know his address. There is also Professor Babington of Cambridge, and the Rev. W. A. Leighton who writes on Lichens. Miss Bell and Miss Hunter our honorary members used to contribute Fungi, and may have kept some of the letters that passed. What has come of Dr. Greville's family of Edinburgh I never heard. His books were sold in London. All these Edinburgh men are gone, and there is nobody in their place. Prof. Balfour is the only representative of the old Naturalists in that now almost stagnant place. There should be something at Twizell House if it could be reached. Your father expected Mr. Selby to have done something for the ornithology of the Eastern Borders. I should not wonder that the missing MSS. that Mr. Hepburn laments, of the notes he had made for Macgillivray's Birds, may have been sent there for Mr. Selby's opinion. I am not sure that there is anything about Birds among the preparations for the Fauna. It would be worth asking after, should you write to Mr. Selby's Representatives. I see Capt. Thomas is still extant. Mr. Peach will be able to tell about him, and other Edinburgh Naturalists, when you have his company. There were several poems in the MSS. of the Flora, before it took its present form, by the Rev. James Macaulay. I didn't know how your father got them. This gentleman was or is the Editor of the *Leisure Hour*. Probably Dr. MacLagan may have that MS., and you would there find who contributed. It had black figures of Border Naturalists. It used to be brought out for me to look over; and was not identical with what subsequently appeared in print. You have not yet tried J. O. Westwood, who used to visit at Berwick, now Professor at Oxford (I forget the Title of the Chair—Hope Lecturer or something) but it does not matter. Your Father also corresponded with W. Spence, Esq., of the *firm* of "Kirby and Spence." I do not know his representatives, Mr. Spence used to say that your Father's letters on Conchology were the best reproduction of the manner, of their famous book. His early Botanical correspondence would be with Mr. Winch of Newcastle. Mr. Winch left all his correspondence to the Linnaean Society, of which I recollect your father expressing his disapproval, owing to the confidential nature of some of the letters. I do not recollect anyone else at present, of whom I have heard him speak.

I will try to avail myself of your kind invitation to Berwick

at the Holy Island meeting, and hope to have much pleasure in Mr. Peach's company. He and I are very friendly when we meet—and our correspondence is not of yesterday. The day of meeting will have to be June 23 to suit the tide. If Miss Dickenson is still with you, please to remember me kindly to her. I must try and bring her from Holy Island, the plants she did not get finished. . . . I am at present making inquiries for the Melrose meeting on May 12. . . . I go from here to Melrose and return by Kelso and Cornhill for Wooler, where Mr. Milne Home may come to meet me. I have an errand at Kelso to inspect Sir Geo. Douglas's library, and bring away what suits me, but I do not see, how I can accomplish that at present. . . .

I have got some notes from Oxford about the Dunse Professor—Robertson, of whom I got a memoir for the Club, to read at Melrose. You are welcome to Mr. Hislop's letter. I think he intended that I should send it to you, as explanatory. I was disappointed in the letter.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
James Hardy.

Note.—William Macgillivray, LL.D. (1805-1852) was Professor of Natural History in Aberdeen University. See *Correspondence of Dr. George Johnston*, p. 189.

Rev. William Allport Leighton, B.A., F.L.S. (1805-89), wrote books on Lichens and a Flora of Shropshire.

Miss Elizabeth Bell of Coldstream and Miss Hunter of Anton's Hill were extraordinary members of the Club at its founding in 1831.

Robert Kaye Greville, LL.D., F.R.S.E., F.S.A. Scot. (1794-1866), was an accomplished botanist born in Bishop Auckland. He wrote *Flora Edinensis* in 1824 and other works. On Aug. 28, 1848, Dr. Hardy accompanied Dr. Greville and other Edinburgh naturalists on an excursion along the Berwickshire coast described in Hardy's Notebook No. 4, 337-344.

Prideaux John Selby, M.A., F.R.S.E., F.L.S. (1788-1867) became a member of the Club in 1832 and was President in 1834 and 1844. For obituary notice see *H.B.N.C.* 5, 336-8. Archibold Hepburn, Esq., Whittingham joined the Club in 1847 (*H.B.N.C.* 2, 200) and contributed many articles chiefly on birds.

Capt. F. W. L. Thomas (died 1885) served in the Admiralty Survey and was interested in antiquities and marine dredging. See *Correspondence of Dr. George Johnston*, p. 361.

Charles William Peach, A.L.S. (1800-1886) was a self taught naturalist and keen fossil collector. See *Correspondence of Dr. George Johnston*, p. 222.

John Obadiah Westwood, F.L.S. (1805-1893) became Professor of Zoology at Oxford in 1861. See *Correspondence of Dr. George Johnston*, p. 63.

William Spence, F.R.S., F.L.S. (1783-1859) was joint author of the famous *Introduction to Entomology* by Kirby and Spence. See *Correspondence of Dr. George Johnston*, p. 441.

Nathaniel John Winch (1768-1838), Sheriff of Newcastle in 1805, wrote *Flora of Northumberland and Durham* (1831). See *Correspondence of Dr. George Johnston*, p. 80.

Rev. Professor Abraham Robertson, D.D., F.R.S. (1751-1826) son of a Taylor in Duns was a pedlar in youth but later moved to London and eventually became Savilian Professor of astronomy at Oxford. See article by J. Hardy in *H.B.N.C.* 7, 396-401.

Letter 31.

Oldcambus, April 27, 1875.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

During the few past days I came upon further particulars about St. Margaret, which, although Miss Crossman may already possess them, it is sometimes helpful to have noted down for an investigator. I shall therefore place them on a slip of paper—the references merely—so that it may be judged whether they are of any special use or not. When you send them, would you kindly mention, that if Mr. Crossman is to entertain us as he proposed, when we are to have the Holy Island meeting, that I shall have to be in communication with the family about arrangements preparatory for it, sometime in course of June. I will not be home here, after going to Wooler, till June. When there I will be in close communication with Mr Bolam of Weetwood, Mr. Crossman's land agent, and may perhaps get his help. . . . Mr Bolam offered to drive me to the Island, and may do so again. Mr. Milne Home is to join me at Wooler, and Mr. Bolam is to aid us. . . . We are going to take levels of heights of gravel banks and other indications of ancient shores. . . . I wish to avoid writing much during the summer; as close work all winter has quite disarranged my process of digestion. I have not got those Ford papers nearly copied, and they are too interesting to be allowed to be lost.

I have to go to Greenlaw on Thursday, on a Jury, and will call on the Rev. J. Walker, the parish Minister, a fine old man,

although rather *prosy*. If I escape being called, I may have a walk up the Blackadder, with Mr. Walker. He is the adviser of Lady John Scott, in her antiquarian pursuits.

The weather has now a fresh spring feeling, and we have several arrivals of summer birds. Today I have seen several swallows, both the settlers, and also small migratory parties. The Primroses which are so abundant on the sea banks here, are not yet fully expanded; but large beds of pileworts glitter here and there among the rising grass. I see the sheep today nibbling the primrose flowers. In Spring they appear to eat almost every green thing; but I never saw them touch primroses, as there is something about them, not acceptable to the taste of *beasts*. Remembering the taste of children for them, I thought them a very appropriate mouthful for young sheep, which are always so much milder looking, than when older.

I have now got my papers ready in some measure for the Melrose meeting. I have sent an invitation to Mr. Peach's son, who resides at Gattonside, and is one of the Geological Survey, to be the Club's guest at Melrose.

Believe me,
Dear Mrs. Carter,
Very truly yours,
James Hardy.

Note.—Benjamin Neeve Peach, A.R.S.M., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.R.S.E., (1842-1926) was a District Geologist with H.M. Geological Survey and wrote *The Geological Structure of the North West Highlands of Scotland* (1907).

Letter 32.

Wooler, June 1, 1875.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

Your letter has found me at home on this bright day, and I welcome it as a first-footing for another year, and viewed and read with interest the various enclosures. I enjoy these better when I am at home, which is always a comfortable word in many respects. I have seen Mr. Bolam and commissioned him about Raine. He knows the price it should go at to be secured. It sells as low as 18/- and as high as £3/10/-, and the book-seller's price is £2/2/-, beyond which he is not to go. I got better of my cold, the first week I was here, and then applied to collecting, but the weather was too windy, and I have only had two productive days, although many delightful walks. There are few places where there are finer hawthorn bushes spangling the braes, and woods, and river banks, and the evening air is

redolent of the scented blossoms. When insects are not to be had I betake myself to note the habits of birds, as each pair can be viewed within its small circle, retained therein by the domestic ties. I startle several sedge warblers in my walk daily about the same place, who keep up a great racket of song till I am past, and then subside. I have thrice come accidentally upon nests, and seen the vain shifts to decoy the intruder, which, however, I respect, by leaving the vicinity forthwith. The district is well peopled with small birds. I was expecting Mr. Middlemas today, but he has not called. I was going to give him a sight of your Father's letters, but if he does not mention them, will not offer a second time. Most of our members belong to a race who "knew not Joseph," and I am not familiar with them, so that I hesitate about letting them see what they cannot appreciate. . . .

Mr. Milne Home will now be expected daily, to give a new turn to observation. But I keep my eyes open, for any fact that may aid, when he commences.

I would like to have visited Mr. Cunningham, but the day appeared favourable for walking, and I could do the journey better now. I would like to see Mr. Logan's Journal to note his writings. I find Sir Walter is very slow, and rather careless in his citations. I don't think I shall trouble Sir George Douglas for any of his rare books till winter, and so will not take the Kelso trip, at present. Each day now should be producing something new, but I find each alternate day sufficient; setting up on card what I have secured the day previous. My reading is rather inane; some old fashioned novels have come in my way, which I read more to see how the story is told, than for the story. There is a library in the town; but I wanted rest and not reading, or writing; for I cannot read without note-taking.

My stay now will depend on the "Proceedings" coming, as I have exhausted some of the nooks where insects might be obtained. To succeed in obtaining variety, many localities require to be visited. I have been at the foot, but have not offered to ascend Cheviot.

Believe me,
Dear Mrs. Carter,
faithfully yours,
James Hardy.

Note.—This letter was written on his birthday, hence the reference to "first footing."

Letter 33.

Oldcambus, June 16, 1875.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I reached home last night, having tired of waiting any longer at Wooler. At almost the last moment, I was told that one of the plates was not ready, and it may take a fortnight yet to complete. This is very annoying, after my having to write Sir Walter Elliot rather sharply for delaying the proofs. Mr. Milne Home did come at last, and I had three delightful days in his company, and he was very successful in his visit. We explored the valley of the Till from Wooler and Doddington down to Tindal House, and crossed and re-crossed it there several times. On Saturday I went with him to Cornhill, and we called at Millfield Hill, and Flodden farm,—went down to Heatherslaw, passed through Crookham, and examined part of Pallinsburn policy. He will give an account of what he saw at the Cheswick Meeting.

Owing to Mr. Wright refusing us long carts to take over the Members, the visitors to the island will be lessened greatly, and if Mr. Peach comes, he and I may be left on the strand altho' Mr. Bolam promises to take me over. I have written him to say Mr. Peach may be there also, and to ask him to wait till the morning train arrives. I will scarcely be able to come to Berwick till Tuesday for tea, and probably my stay will be short if Mr. Peach is not present. I have been away too long for one trip, already. Everything, however, has gone right in my absence, and the place is looking well.

I met Dr. Maclagan yesterday when I was approaching the Station. I am afraid he encountered a heavy thunderstorm in his passage to Wooler. I went out to explore Easington Crag, and was overtaken by the rain before I got back. We have thunder and rain here this evening, and it will do much good. The country looks worst in the vicinity of Berwick.

I am expecting to get some letters for you, at least I am inquiring.

I have got the Scots Acts of Parliament 10 vols. folio, wanting vol. 1. There will be much historical information in this set. Lady John Scott got nothing in the tomb, she opened at Greenlaw. . . .

Believe me,
Dear Mrs. Carter,
Yours truly,
James Hardy.

Letter 34.

Oldcambus, July 12, 1875.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

You will be wearying for your "Proceedings," which everybody else, except yourself has got last week. I have not found time yet to go to the station to deliver them in a parcel, with your Father's letters as you requested; but I am going to Dunbar on Wednesday, and will take them with me. You see, I have not a servant to go errands, and I do not interfere with the farm-workers at such busy periods as the present. We have got permission from the Duke of Roxburghe's agent to see Broxmouth Park and grounds at the Dunbar meeting. There are no beds to be got at Dunbar at present owing to the officers of a militia regiment occupying the inns and private lodgings, so that I will have to give warning in the circular. It can easily be accomplished from Berwick, or Dunse, or Edinburgh. I have not heard, except from Mr Carr-Ellison, how the Proceedings are liked. He says, he sat up till midnight reading the book, and had still more to read. I sent a copy of "Proc" to Miss Rooke, I didn't say who sent it. Miss Langlands is pleased with her father's memoir. The other sisters are at present lodging in Newcastle. She is a very nice worthy person. Our Norham visit was not so fruitless as it seemed; and the meeting with Mr. Smith was fortunate. A box of curious stones, from Mr. Johnson of Ramrig, is on its way here; one being the stone hammer Mr. Smith spoke about. I did not miss Miss Dickinson's plants. I can examine with interest all kinds of ladies' work, as well as drawings of plants. Since our visit repairs have commenced on Norham Castle, and a cannon bullet has been found in the top of the wall. The cementing will preserve the venerable structure for a long time to come I have got a pamphlet from the Town Clerk on the Grammar School, containing some curious antiquarian citations from the Rolls office of the town records. There is mention of your father in it. I feel a great interest in the history of the good old town. I have heard of a copy of "Raine's N. Durham," through Mr. Bolam, and have written for it. It will scarcely be sold during the interval. . . . I have heard from Dr. Henderson of Chirnside's son. He is not sure whether your Father's letters are preserved or not . . . when he has time he will examine, and send if any remain.

I have got a number of new Flint Implements from Penmanshiel, and neighbouring farms, of new types from those figured, and some more have come to light, in private hands. Possibly we may bring a whole chapter to light about the ancient inhabitants of the district. About 50 pieces of flint were brought to

me, from a locality where there is no flint, except brought there by human agency. . . .

We have had a most beneficent rain. All Nature looks thriving in this quarter. I will be busy now, till after the Club's Meeting. I may perhaps write a paper in the interval on the first Battle of Dunbar, temp. Edw. I.

Believe me,
Dear Mrs. Carter,
Yours faithfully,
James Hardy.

Letter 35.

Oldcambus by Cockburnspath,
July 29, 1875.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I have your favour, and am glad to hear you continue well. I have not troubled you with the Report of Meeting this time, as the Newspapers can do their own work, in their special way of *slips*. I first full made out the report for *Kelso Chronicle*, as it relies on me; and I know the Editor, who is one of our members, and have experienced his hospitality in Club business, when I would have had to go to an Inn, which I detest. . . . Our meeting as regards numbers was disappointing, and has run the Club in debt, more dinners being ordered than eaten. However, they missed something, for this meeting was the most enjoyable of the season, and we had a fair tramp out in the old Club style. That day I sent the parcel to you, I visited Dunbar, but found the place full of military and visitors, and the servants at the Inn I expected to take the dinner were unwell, and the Yeomanry races being the day before, they couldn't get up anything decent. I went to the *minister* and asked him about East Linton, and he told who I should call on. So I took the mid-day train, and soon found myself in that unknown locality, where I found a landlady willing, and a room to suit. I then set off towards Tynninghame, and found that one could walk through the grounds direct to the sea, and even past the house, as the Earl of Haddington had left that morning. I knew the manager, but I did not chance to meet him, but inquired my way onwards, passing round the mansion, till I found an avenue that terminated at the sea-side. The place is full of avenues and cross roads, and the wood of vast extent, so that a stranger might easily go astray. This track landed me on the salt marshes at the mouth of the Tyne, which contain numerous maritime plants. The woods come down to the shore, and a spit of sand covered with buckthorn enclosed the stretch of "salt green" or marsh, and

there being no outlook, when one came there it looked like a place where no man dwelt or passed through. But the East end of the bay came out, as I moved on, disclosing Hedderwick woods and the town and point of Dunbar. Further on a point of sandy bent runs out and terminates in a blunt rocky promontary, called Whitberry point, infamous for shipwrecks, and as I went over the ridge, suddenly the Bass jumped up in sight, with its white cliffs, and red-tiled garrison house above the landing place. Soon after I encountered the head gamekeeper, who entered into my scheme, told me how to proceed by not addressing the agent, but the Earl himself, whose address he furnished. He then constituted himself as guide, and showed all that was interesting within view, asked me to take a cup of tea, and he would set me by a near track to Dunbar, instead of returning to Linton. I found both his wife and he were respectable people, and that their children were getting on well in business. . . . In fact, I might have had the whole family history, had time permitted. Again on march, we went round the house, to the family cemetery, which is a ruined parish church close beside the mansion ; and then crossed the Tyne by a private bridge, and walked the five miles to Dunbar, and did not miss the train this time, as I did on the same ground when at the Bass. . . . After we had breakfasted yesterday, the minister of Whitekirk, who is an antiquarian, came to meet us, and took our two most infirm members, Sir Walter Elliot, and Dr. Hood, who is now 88, down to Tynninghame House, while the rest walked. The President was there, and I find him most intelligent on a great variety of subjects. . . . We broke up into parties, and I read my paper on the Battle of Dunbar to 8 including myself. We were the most advanced of the company along the coast, and had the gamekeeper as guide. So we took a new route backwards up the Binning woods along one of those endless looking avenues, which we were all wearied of, till we gained a public road, and wheeled round towards East Linton. We gained the Inn just in time for dinner, but the Salmon was long in coming . . . and I had to telegraph for it. We were rather thinly scattered in the room. I read Dr. Stuart's paper sitting ; I was too tired to stand. . . .

I am glad to hear you have a likelihood of getting your father's letters to Mr. Selby, as it will likely be an interesting series.

I shall probably go to Wooler next week for a week or ten days before harvest commences. . . .

There is no end of trouble out of doors at present with Birds stealing the ripening corn. There appear to be heavy crops, and I wish it was ripe, and safely stored.

I intended to write only a line to explain why I had not sent you a report, but I have run on to a great length. I have more letters to write.

Believe me,
Dear Mrs. Carter,
Yours faithfully,
James Hardy.

Note.—Sir Walter Elliot (1803-1887) of Wolfelee was President of the Club in 1869. See Memoir in *H.B.N.C.* 14, 358-365.

Dr. Robert Hood of Edinburgh became a member in 1848 and died in 1885, see *H.B.N.C.* 11, 7.

Letter 36.

Oldcambus, Aug. 17, 1875.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I got yours on Saturday evening on my return from Wooler, to which I went on the third. I had gloomy moist weather, and did not effect much by way of exploration; but I enjoyed the quiet and retirement, which I always find there. My gentle friend there is now left alone after five year's attendance on her bed-ridden mother, and has nobody to advise her. It was thus my duty to go there, and stay while I could. When Mr. Dunlop called we were taking our mid-day meal, and I could not go out with him. I did not see him in Berwick, at which I arrived late, having made a long journey to see the country by Chatton, and across the moors. It was hot and very fatiguing. My brother was in Berwick, but had left early, and I found him here on my return. He had seen Mr. Dunlop in the street. We are preparing for harvest on Thursday. I will not be at the Yetholm Meeting. The Circulars will be too late this time; but those who are going will have made up their minds beforehand. I will rebel sometime, for being so strictly confined, and tied to one spot. I return the letter enclosed. I do not know Mr. Grieg, but will be happy to correspond with him. . . . I am not writing a history of Berwickshire; merely collecting for memoirs on different localities, to meet the Club's exigencies. I have got a copy of Raine; so that Mr. Gray's is free. . . .

I will now have a busy time at home, but I wish to have a day in East Lothian before the harvest commences.

I am,
Dear Mrs. Carter,
Yours very truly,
James Hardy.

Note.—George Dunlop wrote a List of Berwickshire Coleoptera in *H.B.N.C.* 2, 20-27.

The "gentle friend" mentioned in this letter was Hardy's future wife, Ann Halliday, they were married in 1877.

Letter 37.

Oldcambus by Cockburnspath,
Aug. 25, 1875.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

You are indebted for this to a wet morning, as I am very busy at present, and very tired at night. It is clearing off, of which I am glad, for the Club's sake. Dr. Douglas is officiating today. He thinks there will be a larger meeting, than we anticipated, as Sir George Douglas was likely to bring a party of Cambridge students with him, who are staying at Springwood Park; and Professor Balfour is to be there also. I had read of Dr. Archibold in the Newspaper. He is to be proposed at Yetholm in my name, and seconded by Dr. Douglas. We are going to have a new Lady member in Miss Langlands, who wishes to continue the "Proceedings". Her father was a great favourite of the Club, and did everything in his power to promote its objects. The subject of publishing Mr. Tate's papers will be brought before the meeting, and they will be welcomed. I am going to examine them further today. . .

We have had favourable weather till today, and the crop is a good one, except where eaten by the immense numbers of ravenous birds. If we had only good weather, a week would finish what I have to cut. The harvest mite is very annoying here, one dare not sit on the grass, and even the stone walls appear to be over-run with them. A few showers will probably allay the pest.

With kind regards,

Believe me,

Dear Mrs. Carter,

Yours faithfully,

James Hardy.

Letter 38.

Oldcambus, Sept. 6, 1875.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I have not had any adventures to relate since my last. I had not much to do in the beginning of harvest, while the Reaping Machines were going, as my youngest brother came over to superintend. This is a curiously lying place, with flat fields, and rocks, and steep banks, and deep craggy ravines, and the crop cannot be cut, always by the "Reapers"; however, we got the men tied on, and razed down most of the standing corn, in that way; the rest had to be cut by sickle. I have only had 4 or 5 days standing behind those cutting beans, and it is very wearisome on the limbs. Great numbers of thrushes and black-

birds, and hedgesparrows and whitethroats were disturbed, during the process, and seemed perplexed, when they were dislodged from cover. The Bean and Pease crop is very heavy. Our cutting will be finished tomorrow. Stacking is going on at the same time ; some nine stacks have been erected ; and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ stacks was thrashed furnishing beautiful white oats. A good deal of barley, and all the wheat is out yet, and it takes a good while to lift it, from the steep ground ; and it is a far way off also ; but nothing is to be feared, if the weather is good. There are lots of rabbits among the corn, about a dozen being killed per day. There was a wee young one today, the workers kept from destruction, and let away ; also a young mouse which they caught nibbling corn. Both got liberty ; for country folks are not destitute of compassion.

If you suspect any *bugs* are about the woodwork, after all your efforts, the best thing is a coat of paint. At Penmanshiel once, they got introduced by a servant's chest, it was supposed, and everything had to be carried out, and left exposed to the open air for a long time ; and some of the older wooden articles were burnt. I was not at home, but recollect seeing them out of doors, when on a visit. Old sofas, and seats near beds are to be avoided in poor houses. Bugs occasionally occur in farm servants' houses, and I once met with one, after taking tea in one of the Cheviot shepherd's houses ; so that the horrible nuisances are widely diffused. A bench or seat of wood is safer than those stuffed masses of corruption used as chairs. . . .

I enclose my copy of the Battle of Dunbar. I unfortunately dirtied it, with the rusty door key, which sometimes I have to carry with me. The verses quoted are so antique you will scarcely understand them

Dr. Douglas received a note from Miss Bell of Springhill, Coldstream, complaining that notices of Club Meetings were still sent addressed to Miss Hunter, who had died in November last, of which fact she had given notice. Whom she gave notice to I know not, but this is the first time I have been informed of it. She should have sent back the Club's Proceedings, as well. Perhaps Mr. Cunningham will ascertain for me the date of Miss Hunter's decease, without troubling this peevish lady. The only communication I have had from her, was that she was annoyed with being called Mrs. Bell, in the previous list of the Club's Members, so I have addressed her as Miss Bell, ever since. I believe I have a letter or two of Miss Hunter's ; perhaps a word should be said about her being a correspondent of your father's, and also a notice of the plants she discovered. Dr. Douglas's remark is " to draw a pen across Miss Hunter's name," but it will not do to extinguish our lady members, in

that clerk-like fashion, after such repeated toasting of their good healths, and holding them up as paragons. But I have another wearying day before me tomorrow, and then I hope my heavy work is over.

With kind regards,
Believe me,
Dear Mrs. Carter,
Yours faithfully,
James Hardy.

Letter 39.

Mill Vale, Wooler, Oct. 1, 1875.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I beg to enclose the Notice of the Alnwick Club Meeting which I intended for the *Advertiser*, for you to read, and you are at liberty to give it to other papers, but do not copy it. . . .

The Alnwick Meeting was quite a success, and the day was filled up with varied entertainment. I had been promised a bed by one of the members, and wrote to him I was coming, but when I landed along with Mr. McDouall, we met him, and he told me, he had been from home, and he had no bed to offer. We found both Inns full ; but got beds in a private house ; a nice quiet place and cleanly ; and if ever I have to return I will go there, instead of trusting to private benevolence. I came up here yesterday, but could not write anything in time for the Newspapers ; so none of them will have a full report till next week. . . . I will stay about three weeks here. I have a good deal of work to do, with collecting facts for future papers ; and I expect Mr. Milne Home also to be in the neighbourhood. It has come on to rain again, but if the weather opens up, I hope to breathe the hill air soon. There was a fine view of Cheviotland yesterday morning on the way up from Alnwick. The hawthorn bushes are becoming quite scarlet with the load of haws. At Old Bewick I had the pleasure of seeing the pretty wayside cross erected by the Miss Langlands at the side of the road to Bewick restored Chapel. I am afraid it will meet the fate of milestones, and is far too good for our wayside travellers to have within reach. Rosedean well known to your Father lay opposite Bewick, remarkable at present only by its bare fields stretching up to the back moors. I have seen nobody here as yet, but I am going to call on Rev. Wm. Proctor, before I leave. You will be glad to see the prosperity of the Club. These notices serve to keep up its life, like the circulars, although there is not much in them, to render them lively.

Believe me,
Dear Mrs. Carter,
Faithfully yours,
James Hardy.

Letter 40.

Mill Vale, Wooler, Oct. 12, 1875.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I thank you much for your trouble about the Reports, and for sending me the Newspapers containing them. . . .

I have been reading a good deal since I came here. I find Mr. Somerville's life interesting, but there is not a great deal to be learned from it. . . . I have also been studying Lyell's "Antiquity of Man". . . . My longest walk was to Ross Castle in Chillingham Park, last Monday. It was a beautiful day, and the Chillingham trees were seen in perfection. I have met with no view so extensive as from the top of the hill. The Northumbrian coast was visible from Holy Island to beyond Warkworth, the whole lighted up by the autumnal sun, which is always accompanied with shadows that add to the distinctness of lineament. There was a vast barren moor all round in the south, but beyond it lay Alnwick woods, and the rising grounds further over; still continuing round lay Thrunton Crags dark and gloomy, and Whittingham Vale at their feet; then further on Simonside with its mural crown, and a long streak of dark cloud almost resting on its summit. Its sides were dark and gloomy, but the sun smiled along the Coquet round its base, and there is wide flat space there netted with hedges, and ornamented with spreading trees. A dark ridge continued all round, and a notch in it, indicates the whereabouts of Harbottle, and somewhere in the remoteness of the bleak moors lie Elsdon and Otterburn field. Nearer lay the height of Biddleston, and Netherton, on to Prendwick and Fawdon, all green grassy hills, not far off. The Park below was seen very distinctly; you could look into every corner, and trace the winding of all its woods, and the shaping of its clumps and single trees. The great stretch of Hetton valley, and still more extensive, Milfield plain, lay unfolded free of mistiness, and beyond them Scotland like a frame to the bright picture. Halidon Hill, Mordington House, etc., were most distinct. There was a charm all around. Clouds gathered on the Cheviots at night, and there seemed to be an elemental war in that region, and raking clouds were disposed along the hill ranges in two different directions. The sunset sky was filled with bright hues, seldom seen together, pale blue background, with light brown masses and silvery maculae, which finally became scarlet. Dark shadows stole over the landscape on one side, while the other retained its green hues, but sobered by the deepening gloom. A pale moon lay like a wan crescent, on a little patch of pale green, among a mass of dark clouds. Another day I went to Heathpool, a farm place in antique style, far remote among surrounding hills,

and nature's wildness. There is a linn or rather rapid here, owing to College having to cross a mass of rock, through a ravine. The water rages and tosses—sleeps in dark pools like that of oblivion—then breaks away in foam, again reposes in a black cauldron, overhung by trees—and then pursues its river function as before. The winding of the streams here is something wonderful. They look like long glossy ribbons just unfolded to the breeze. The banks of College are curiously speckled with whin bushes. There are some pretty trees on its borders, especially in the hollows. At the base of the hills among the ferns there is such a collection of hawthorns over the flat, and so various in form, that it rivals a park, that owes its charms to cultivated taste. The return was across the Cheviot Moors. Near at hand there were continual undulations of hills. Far off lay Scotland painted by the sunbeams, but you could not point out localities, in such multiplicity. Nearer, Norham Castle gleamed bulky amid the dark woods around it; and nearer Etal and Ford and their well wooded domains kept one gazing and gazing on, loath to lose the charm of the picture. Entering now on a wild moor, a different scene arose, the range of Cheviot and Hedgehope were inky black—there were both darkness and shadow in that gloom. A cold wind swept the grassy bent, and kept it twinkling with motion; and brown patches of moorland dappled all the scene. The greener portions were specked with numerous sheep and cattle, all very distinct in the strange light, from a partially cloudy sky. There was a strange optical illusion on Newton Torr, where the clouds were rapidly skimming along the peak. One of the rocks began to move in the contrary direction, like a person walking along the side. Further on there were fine orange glows from ferny hollows as the day closed, and glooms came down on the ridges and deepened all their lines.

Yesterday I went to Doddington. . . . Mrs. Procter shewed me the church, fresh decorated for the Harvest Thanksgiving. We also talked of her son and brother. . . . A fresh wreath of geraniums rests on his tomb. I had his company there on the same anniversary two years ago. His mother appeared to dwell on his memory. I did not stay long, but went further on to examine some fossils recently found in a quarry, to ascertain if they could be sent to the Berwick Museum. The man who found them appeared to be willing, so that the Museum managers should try to secure them. There are two cart loads at least. I returned over the "Dodd hill," and examined an inscribed stone recently discovered. There is again a fine prospect from this elevated peak, of the long broad valley, and its far reaching arms, and the silvery streams with their myriad

windings, glittering in the light. There were fine dark shadows on the hill region, while a shower was passing, and golden beams streaming in pencils away behind the parts beclouded.

This is a rough sketch of my proceedings, which are put a stop to by a frost last night. I will resume my operations this afternoon. I shall probably stay to the end of next week, and then bid farewell to this place for a time. I expect to have a few more outlooks from the high places, including Cheviot before I leave.

Believe me,
Dear Mrs. Carter,
faithfully yours,
James Hardy.

Note.—Mrs. Procter was wife of the Vicar of Doddington, Rev. William Procter, M.A., who died in 1876 and of whom Hardy wrote a memoir in *H.B.N.C.* 8, 230-232. He was predeceased by his son, Rev. William Procter, B.A., who died in 1874 in Devon but was buried in Doddington Churchyard (see Hardy's memoir in *H.B.N.C.* 7, 181-182).

TREASURER'S FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 22nd SEPTEMBER, 1971.

INCOME

Credit Balance at 22nd September, 1970	..	..	£240.73
<i>Subscriptions</i>			
Annual, Junior and Library	..	£661.70	
Entrance Fees	..	40.00	
Sale of Badges	..	25.55	
Arrears	..	34.00	
			761.25
<i>Sundries</i>			
Deeds of Covenant	..	£38.86	
Donations	..	0.50	
Overpaid Subscriptions	..	1.25	
			40.61

EXPENDITURE

Printing of History 1970 (Provisional estimate)	..	£394.56
<i>Printing and Stationery</i>		
Printing of Club notices, postage, and stencils	..	137.81
Purchase of Day Book and Minute Book	..	7.62
<i>Sundry Expenses</i>		
Purchase of Club Badges	..	£21.20
Insurance, Books and Public Liability	..	8.00
Duplicating of Statements	..	2.00
Refund of Subs. overpaid	..	1.25
Postage of Cards for Subscriptions	..	6.45
Slide Show	..	2.55
Coldingham Excavation	..	76.50
Bank charges	..	2.20
		120.15
<i>Subscriptions</i>		
Chillingham Wild Cartle	..	£1.05
British Association	..	7.00
Assoc. for Preservation of Rural Scotland	..	1.00
Council of British Archaeology	..	3.00
Scot. Reg. Cl. British Archaeology	..	2.39
		14.44
<i>Official's Expenses</i>		
Mr. W. Ryle Elliot (Secretary)	..	£29.25
Mrs. McWhir (Delegate to Brit. Association)	..	10.00
Rev. J. I. C. Finnie (Editing Sec.)	..	2.00
Mr. W. O. Morris (Treasurer)	..	13.82
		55.07
Credit Balance at Bank, 22nd September, 1971	..	£306.76
Cash on hand	..	6.18
		312.94

£1,042.59

£1,042.59

BALANCE SHEET

LIABILITIES

Carried from General Account	..	..	£312.94
<i>Investment Account</i>			
Balance at September, 1970	..	£59.79	
Interest added	..	1.47	
			61.26
Special Investment Dept.	..	£217.50	
Interest added	..	14.56	
			232.06
Special Investment Dept.	..	£67.96	
Interest added	..	4.50	
			72.46
			<u>£678.72</u>

ASSETS

<i>Cash in Bank</i>		
Royal Bank of Scotland	..	£306.76
Trustee Savings Bank	..	61.26
(Special Investment Dept.)	..	232.06
(Special Investment Dept.)	..	72.46
		<u>£672.54</u>
<i>Cash in hand</i>	..	6.18
		..

£678.72

W. O. MORRIS,
Hon. Treasurer.

Audited and found correct.
P. G. GEGGIE.
30th September, 1971.

HISTORY
OF THE
BERWICKSHIRE
NATURALISTS' CLUB

The Centenary Volume and Index, issued 1933, price 50p.
is invaluable as a guide to the contents of the *History*.

S 16A



HISTORY
OF THE
BERWICKSHIRE
NATURALISTS' CLUB

INSTITUTED SEPTEMBER 22, 1831

"MARE ET TELLUS, ET, QUOD TEGIT OMNIA, CÆLUM"

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1972

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The Editing Secretary would be grateful if
contributions to the final part of this volume
could be received by 30th April, 1974.



HISTORY OF THE BERWICKSHIRE NATURALISTS' CLUB

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BERWICKSHIRE NATURALISTS' CLUB

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

*Delivered to the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, at
Berwick, 4th October, 1972, by Albert George Long,
D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.E.S., F.R.S.E.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

At the first anniversary meeting of this Club held in Coldstream on 19th September, 1832, Dr. Johnston, in his Presidential Address, said that his aim was to 'set an example to my successors in this chair to give a summary of the communications and researches of the members during the year'. In later years this eclectic task seems to have fallen to the lot of the Secretary under the heading of his Report of the Meetings which thus left the President free to speak on some subject on which he had special knowledge.

For my own part before I vacate this chair I would like to thank the Club for the honour conferred on me in electing me to this position and for the support given to me in this year of office. I wish my successor Lady McEwen and the newly nominated Vice-President Mr. Adam R. Little every success in their coming year of office. I would also like to register my thanks on behalf of all to our indefatigable Secretary who has put in so much preparatory work in the organization of the Club Meetings. Without going into detail I will mention these meetings briefly and add the few natural history observations I was able to make.

1. On 11th May we visited Oldhamstocks, Dunglass, and Abbey St. Bathans. The Cowslip *Primula veris* and Meadow Saxifrage *Saxifraga granulata* were in flower at Dunglass and a Chiffchaff was heard at Abbey St. Bathans.
2. On 8th June we visited Callaly. On the Castle Hill the Chickweed Wintergreen *Trientalis europaea* and Cowberry *Vaccinium vitis-idaea* were seen while from the leafy branches of the majestic woodland trees we heard the Wood Warbler, Chiffchaff, Redstart, Tree Pipit, Jay and Green Woodpecker.
3. On 17th June Howick, Craster and Dunstanburgh were visited. On the sea-braes and shore we saw the Purple Milk Vetch *Astragalus danicus*, Hare's Foot Trefoil *Trifolium arvense*, Sea Milkwort *Glaux maritima*, and Sea Purslane *Honkenya peploides*. Caterpillars of the Six-spot Burnet Moth *Zygaena filipendulae* were feeding in hundreds on Bird's Foot Trefoil and Ribwort Plantain within the enclosed ground of Dunstanburgh Castle, many of the caterpillars had already spun their golden yellow cocoons.
4. On 1st July Bonaparte's Plantation in Mellerstain was visited and the lost patch of *Linnaea borealis* was re-discovered in the birch wood due south of Lightfield Farm. Nearby a Woodcock was flushed from her nest with four eggs.
5. On 12th July Linlithgow and Hopetoun were visited. The Union Canal was found to be quite rich botanically with lots of Spotted Orchid *Dactylorhiza fuchsii*, Yellow Rattle *Rhinanthus minor* and a white variety of the Ragged Robin *Lychnis flos-cuculi*.
6. On 2nd August we were conducted round the Roman Camp at Housesteads by the chief Custodian. One of our members noted the Chimney Sweeper moth *Oedixia atrata* in flight.
7. On 23rd August the eastern and middle peaks of the Eildon Hills were climbed. While assembling at the Golf House a flock of about twenty Crossbills flew overhead. When climbing the eastern hill a female Common Blue *Polyommatus icarus* was seen and one specimen of the July Highflyer *Hydriomena furcata*. Several larvae of the Northern Eggar *Lasiocampa quercus* subsp. *callunae* were found crawling on the paths

and a single Emperor caterpillar *Saturnia pavonia* was seen on the heather. Parsley Fern *Cryptogramma crispa* was seen growing on a south-facing scree of the eastern hill and the Common Club-moss *Lycopodium clavatum* was present near the indicator on the middle peak.

8. On 21st September Bamburgh was visited. Growing on a wall round the plantation in the village we saw Black Spleenwort *Asplenium adiantum-nigrum* and Pellytory of the Wall *Parietaria diffusa*. A fully grown larva of the Buff Ermine moth *Spilosoma lutea* was caught near the Castle.

One of my special interests in the natural history of Berwickshire and the adjacent counties has been its fossil flora. This study was commenced in 1957 and I purpose to try and interpret some of this work to you under the title of

The Early History of Seeds

I. Introduction. What is a seed?

It is customary in all scientific subjects to define the terms and units used, so by way of introduction I think we should first consider what a seed is.

The literal meaning of the term 'seed' is 'that which is sown'. In botany, however, the term is used only for the unit of reproduction in higher plants. In lower plants the unit of reproduction is typically a *spore*. We therefore distinguish between spore-plants and seed-plants.

A spore is usually a single specially-resistant cell which is set free and dispersed and from which a new plant can grow if given the necessary conditions. In contrast, a seed is a multicellular body.

A spore is usually formed *asexually*, i.e. without the union of two special sex cells. In contrast a seed is the product of both an asexual and sexual process involving the formation of a fertilized egg and food store.

Examples of spore-plants are the ferns, horsetails, club-mosses, true mosses, liverworts, fungi, and some algae and bacteria. Examples of seed-plants are the gymnosperms and angiosperms. Gymnosperms have naked seeds, i.e. the seeds are not enclosed in an ovary or fruit. Our three native species of gymnosperms are the Scots Pine, Yew, and Juniper.

Angiosperms have enclosed seeds, i.e. they develop inside a *gynoecium* built up of one or more carpels.

Let us consider what happens in the life cycle of a fern as an example of a spore plant. The spores are usually produced in sporangia borne somewhere on the fronds, e.g. on the lower surface. Such a plant, producing spores, is called a *sporophyte*. When a spore germinates it does not grow directly into another fern sporophyte but forms a small green plant called a *prothallus* or *gametophyte*. It is called a gametophyte because it produces gametes or sex cells. After the fertilization of an egg by a sperm an embryo forms and this commences growth, at first drawing food from the prothallus. Eventually it becomes independent and has roots, stem and leaves. Thus in the life cycle of a fern there are two generations and typically these alternate, the sporophyte reproduces asexually by spores, and the gametophyte reproduces sexually by gametes. In this way the fern gets the best of both worlds: it has the advantages of reproduction by spores, e.g. wide dispersal, and the advantages of sexual reproduction enabling variation and adaptation to occur.

In plants which live on land there is always one great disadvantage involved in sexual reproduction: this is the need for liquid water to make fertilization possible. The male gamete needs water in which to swim in order to reach the female gamete. It is this disadvantage the seed habit overcomes. The primitive seeds possessed a pollen chamber containing a watery liquid which acted as a private pond ensuring that the male gametes had the necessary liquid in which to swim and bring about fertilization.

In most ferns the spores of any one species are all alike in average size and form. Such ferns are said to be *homosporous*. In some other spore-plants, as for example the Lesser Clubmoss *Selaginella spinulosa* (which grows on Greenlaw Moor and elsewhere), the spores are of two kinds—larger *megaspores* and smaller *microspores*. From these develop separate male and female gametophytes. Megaspores produce female gametophytes and microspores produce male gametophytes. In this way more food is provided in the prothallus which may bear a future embryo sporophyte. Spore-plants which produce the two sorts of spores—megaspores and microspores—are said to be *heterosporous*.

We are now in a better position to understand what a seed is. A seed is a *megasporangium* producing only one functional megaspore. This megaspore, however, is never released but germinates to produce an internal, reduced, female gametophyte on which female organs known as archegonia form egg cells from which, after fertilization, embryo sporophytes can be formed. In addition to the megasporangium, a seed has an *integument*, a kind of protective coat which is called the testa. This integument is two-layered in most angiosperm seeds, but single-layered in gymnosperm seeds.

In modern seeds it is customary to call the megasporangium the *nucellus*, and the megaspore is called the *embryo-sac*. In the seeds of gymnosperms such as the Scots Pine the female prothallus acts as a food reserve called *endosperm* but in angiosperm seeds the prothallus is reduced beyond recognition and the food reserve or endosperm only develops after fertilization.

By the time a modern angiosperm seed is set free from its parent plant it consists of parts of three generations telescoped into one reproductive structure. These are:

- (i) the megasporangium and its integument representing the first sporophyte generation;
- (ii) the prothallus or female gametophyte with the egg cells representing the next gametophyte generation;
- (iii) the embryo or baby plant developed from a fertilized egg which represents the next sporophyte generation.

This analysis enables us to define the terms 'ovule' and 'seed' as follows:

An ovule is an integumented megasporangium retaining a single functional megaspore.

A seed is a matured ovule which may or may not contain an embryo plant at the time of shedding.

From this we see that seed-plants appear to have evolved from spore-plants and the chief interest of fossil seeds is the light they shed on how this evolution took place.

Primitive seeds are more like simple megasporangia than modern seeds. Those of the Pteridosperms or seed-ferns very often show no sign of a female prothallus inside. When the prothallus is present within the megaspore the seed coat shows signs of wear and tear as if the seed had

been dropped some time before the female gametophyte had developed. So far no embryo has been found within a Pteridosperm seed though pollen is often present inside the pollen chamber. That which is sown is therefore a mature ovule which has usually been pollinated. Development of the female gametophyte and fertilization probably occurred while the seed was lying on the ground after abscission. Once the embryo started forming from the fertilized egg there was probably no further dormant period, it had to go on developing.

The method of pollination in primitive seeds was probably by wind, the pollen being caught in a droplet of fluid exuded at the apex of the ovule followed by resorption into the pollen chamber. Afterwards the pollen grains must have set free the male gametes capable of swimming in the fluid of the pollen chamber to fertilize the eggs on the female prothallus as happens in the modern *Ginko biloba* or Maidenhair Tree which on this account can be called a living fossil.

II. *What plants could have given rise to the seed habit?*

The oldest known fossil seed is called *Archaeosperma arnoldii*. It was discovered relatively recently in the Upper Old Red Sandstone of Scaumenac Bay in the Province of Quebec, Canada (Pettitt and Beck 1968). It is preserved as a compression so that its internal structure is not known. The seeds occur in groups of four within a cupule and are associated with compressed fronds of *Archaeopteris*. The oldest known petrified seeds with internal structure preserved come from the Lower Carboniferous rocks of the Cementstone Group of Berwickshire and East Lothian. Most of these seeds were probably borne on Pteridosperms, though for most the parent plant is not known. Plants thought to be Pteridosperms occur in the Upper Devonian rocks so that most palaeobotanists think that the seed habit must have evolved in the Devonian period.

Pteridosperms have fern-like foliage so that they are sometimes referred to as the seed-ferns. It is very unlikely, however, that they evolved from ferns. Ferns do not typically have secondary wood as do the Pteridosperms.

Fossil plants with fern-like foliage, secondary wood, and reproduction by spores are now classified as Progymno-

sperms or Progymnospermopsida. *Archaeopteris* with its large fern-like fronds was once thought to be a fern but is now classified as a progymnosperm and was a huge tree. The petrified trunks were known for a long time under the name *Callixylon* before the discovery that they bore the large fronds of *Archaeopteris* (Beck 1960). It now seems most probable that the seed habit evolved in the Devonian period among Progymnosperms such as *Archaeopteris* or its relatives and not in the ferns.

In the British Isles the best locality for *Archaeopteris* is at Kiltorkan in Southern Ireland. In the Upper Old Red Sandstone of Scotland *Archaeopteris* is very rare but specimens now in the Royal Scottish Museum were obtained last century by a Mr. John Stewart and given to Hugh Miller. They were said to come from a quarry at Preston Haugh near Duns in Berwickshire. The site of this quarry I have never discovered and I have sometimes wondered whether or not the specimens were actually obtained from the Old Red Sandstone scaur on the right bank of the Whitadder between Preston Haugh and Barramill Plantation now largely felled. This scaur is on the right bank of the river on the first big bend below Cockburn Bridge, and here I have found compressions of large stems which although without leaves could well be *Archaeopteris*. One of Mr. Stewart's specimens was figured by Miller in his book *The Testimony of the Rocks* (Miller 1869, p. 411).

Before Pettitt and Beck described the compressed seeds of *Archaeosperma arnoldii* from Canada some isolated megaspores were described under the name *Cystosporites devonicus* from the same locality (Chaloner and Pettitt 1964). These were identical with the megaspores in the seeds of *Archaeosperma* and like them were associated with fronds of *Archaeopteris*. It is of interest that one megaspore agreeing with *Cystosporites devonicus* has been found in Berwickshire (Long 1968). It was found in stratified volcanic ash in the bed of the Whitadder above Preston bridge near Cumledge and not very far from the site where Mr. Stewart's specimens described by Hugh Miller were probably found.

So far no one has proved that any species of *Archaeopteris* bore seeds but it is known that some species were heterosporous having some sporangia producing megaspores and others producing microspores.

III. *How could a seed have evolved from a sporangium?*

The changes involved must have been fourfold:

1. The establishment of heterospory and reduction in the number of functional megaspores to one in each megasporangium.
2. The incomplete dehiscence of the megasporangia so that the megaspores were never released.
3. The development of a pollen chamber inside the top part of each megasporangium and capture of pollen in a droplet of exuded liquid.
4. The development of an integument from sterile branchlets borne near the megasporangium.

The simplest hypothetical starting point for the evolution of a seed is the terminal sporangium in the Psilophytales such as *Rhynia*. These primitive vascular plants were homosporous.

The evolution of heterospory is exemplified by *Archaeopteris*, e.g. in *A. latifolia* (Arnold 1939).

Reduction in numbers of the megaspores in a single megasporangium is exemplified by *Stauropteris*. This is a primitive fern-like plant of which three species are known. In the Lower Carboniferous species each megasporangium was probably shed intact with two megaspores and two smaller spores inside. The sporangium had a terminal beak which may or may not have opened (Surange 1952).

The evolution of an integument is best seen in *Genomosperma* (Long 1960) where eight sterile cylindrical branchlets had commenced to fuse around the base of the megasporangium. Later a micropyle evolved by the integumental lobes fusing completely around the top of the megasporangium.

IV. *How could the second integument of Angiosperm ovules have evolved?*

Most Angiosperm ovules and seeds have a double integument whereas in Gymnosperms the ovules have a single integument.

One theory put forward to account for the second integument is to regard it as derived from a cupule. Certain Pteridosperms did possess single-seeded cupules and for these the cupular origin of the second integument seems

feasible, at least for ovules that are orthotropous. Most Angiosperm ovules, however, are curved. When the ovule body is curved roughly at right angles to the stalk or funicle the ovule is said to be *campylotropous* as for example in a Wallflower. If the ovule body is reflexed so that it is inverted and fused on one side to the stalk it is said to be *anatropous*, as in a Buttercup. If such anatropous ovules are sectioned longitudinally it is seen that the second integument is present only on the surface away from the stalk. This seems to suggest that the second integument was not present before the curvature took place or it would be represented all round the megasporangium like the first integument. It is therefore more likely that the second integument formed either during or after the time when the curvature took place. My own view is that the second integument was not derived from a cupule but more probably resulted from a differentiation within the first integument. I think that curvature of primitive seeds occurred mainly in those having only two integumental lobes. During curvature the two free lobes could have become differentiated as an inner integument which was over-hung by a dorsal lip. In this way the pollination droplet would be better protected from rain by the hood-like dorsal lip or so-called second integument.

V. *How did seeds become enclosed in carpels as in modern flowers?*

In modern Angiosperms the female part of the flower is known as the gynoecium and it consists of one or more carpels. As an example let us consider the flower of a Sweet Pea *Lathyrus odorata* L. Here the gynoecium is monocarpellary, i.e. it consists of a single carpel. The carpel has three parts known as the ovary, style and stigma. Inside the ovary are the ovules. After pollination the ovary ripens to form a fruit and the ovules become seeds. The style and stigma wither away. The fruit of the Sweet Pea is a pod and this has dorsal and ventral sutures which split open eventually to release the seeds.

In a flower such as the Marsh Marigold *Caltha palustris* L. the gynoecium consists of several free carpels. These ripen to form a fruit known as an aggregate of follicles. Each follicle is very like a pod having dorsal and ventral sutures

but eventually only one of these opens to release the seeds, this is the ventral suture.

A follicle like that of the Marsh Marigold is thought to be one of the more primitive forms of carpel. Such a carpel has a very short style and stigma on top of the ovary but in some Angiosperms thought to be even more primitive the stigma occupies the entire length of the ventral suture and really consists of the two adpressed margins of the carpel.

The term 'suture' really means a 'seam' and the ventral suture really consists of the two margins of the carpel pressed together and fused. There is good evidence that at one time there was a ventral opening down this side of the carpel and in some living Angiosperms this can still be seen. Thus in the Dyer's Rocket *Reseda luteola* L. which grows fairly commonly on shingle by the Whitadder and elsewhere, the ventral suture is open near the top so that one can see the ovules inside the carpels of the flower. This gymnospermous character supports the idea that Angiosperms have evolved from Gymnosperms. Originally each carpel must have been like a purse with a slit down one side through which pollen could be blown by the wind so gaining direct access to the ovules for fertilization. The closure of the ventral suture probably began basally like a zip-fastener formed of interlocking hairs. The prime function of these hairs was to reduce loss of water by evaporation from the delicate ovules. Such hairs, however, would impede the entry of wind-borne pollen grains which would become entangled among the hairs. At some time such pollen grains acquired the power to germinate and form a pollen tube through which moisture was absorbed. Eventually the pollen tube became the structure through which the male gametes were passed to the egg-cell without being released. This mode of fertilization is known as siphonogamy.

VI. *From what organ was the carpel derived?*

Among Pteridosperms the seeds, although naked, were often protected by an enveloping structure known as a cupule. In some, each seed had its own individual cupule and several cupules were borne on a single frond or leaf. In others, two or more seeds occurred within one cupule and again several of these were borne on a single frond.

In a third type an entire frond was converted into a single relatively large cupule about the size of a Tulip flower-bud. One such example is called *Calathospermum* and the species named *Calathospermum fimbriatum* (Barnard 1960) was first described from rocks at Oxroad Bay near Tantallon Castle on the East Lothian coast. It has also been found in limestone nodules occurring in the bed of the Whitadder between Edrom and West Blanterne. In most Pteridosperms the leaf was a large frond which forked like a letter Y. This forking of the leaf-stalk or petiole is represented in the base of a *Calathospermum* cupule so that it consists of two lateral halves borne on a common stalk. Now such a bivalved structure may be compared to the two halves of a single carpel such as a pea-pod. It is therefore possible that the carpel in modern flowers really represents a highly modified cupule in which the two halves have joined so as to enclose and protect the seeds up to the time of their release.

For this and other reasons some palaeobotanists think that Pteridosperms were the most likely ancestors of the Angiosperms.

A modern flower is really a telescoped shoot in which there are basically three sorts of lateral organs borne on a stem-like axis called the receptacle. The three sorts of lateral organs are the carpels, stamens and perianth leaves sometimes differentiated into sepals and petals. Goethe put forward the idea that all these organs are really modified leaves. It is possible, however, that the carpels and stamens evolved from branched cylindrical organs bearing sporangia which had never become typical flattened leaves. Goethe's idea was that a carpel is really a leaf folded down its midrib so as to enclose the ovules borne along its margins. If, on the other view, the ovules represent megasporangia borne on cylindrical stalks it seems more likely that these fused basally whereas in the evolution of the true leaves the fusion of simpler units seems to have been by webbing between terminal parts so giving flattened portions which were better adapted to absorbing light for photosynthesis.

By the study of fossil seeds and the plants which bore them the mystery of how flowering plants evolved may yet be solved. Fossil Angiosperms go back in the rocks only to the early Cretaceous period about 135 million years ago. The Lower Carboniferous seeds found in Berwickshire and

East Lothian are almost 350 million years old. Between the end of the Carboniferous Period and the commencement of the Cretaceous Period was a span of 135 million years covering the Permian, Triassic and Jurassic geological periods. The answer to the riddle of the Angiosperms must lie somewhere locked up in these rocks unless their ancestors completely evaded any natural burial and like Enoch of old passed from this life without leaving any physical remains behind (Genesis 6, 24).

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APPENDICES

- I. GEOLOGICAL TIME SCALE (modified from Holmes, A., 1959. A revised geological time-scale. *Trans. Edinburgh Geol. Soc.*, 17, 183).

Periods measured approximately in millions of years (m.y.).

PERIOD	m.y.	Beginning m.y. ago
Tertiary	70	70
Cretaceous	65	135
Jurassic	45	180
Triassic	45	225
Permian	45	270
Carboniferous	80	350
Devonian	50	400
Silurian	40	440
Ordovician	60	500
Cambrian	100	600

II. LIST OF LANTERN SLIDES USED AS ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. *Linnaea borealis* at Mellerstain, taken by J. and G. Waldie, Gordon.
2. *Archaeosperma arnoldii* from Pettitt and Beck, 1968, text-fig. 1 and 2.
3. Whitadder above bridge near Cumledge showing ash-beds in river bed.
4. *Cystosporites devonicus* a megaspore from Whitadder ash beds; taken from Long 1968, Plate IV, fig. 29.
5. Ditto, apical end enlarged to show 3 aborted spores; *ibid.* fig. 30.
6. Compressed seed (un-named) from ash beds above bridge near Cumledge; from Long 1966, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Edin.*, Plate I, fig. 6.
7. General view of the fossil site at Rhynie, Aberdeenshire, taken on a visit organised by the Tenth International Botanical Conference held in Edinburgh during 1964.
8. Diagram of a primitive vascular plant such as *Rhynia*.
9. *Stauropteris berwickensis*, associated megasporangium with two of the megaspores, as in Long 1966, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Edin.*, Plate IV, figs. 41-43.
10. *Genomosperma*, diagrams of *G. kidstoni* and *G. latens* from Long, 1960, text-fig. 1.
11. Strata in Langton Burn near Hanna's Bridge, Gavinton, where *Genomosperma* occurs *in situ*.
12. *Genomosperma latens* L.S. of seed from Langton Burn site.
13. Shingle bed on Whitadder near Hutton Mill, another *Genomosperma* site.
14. Junction of Upper O.R.S. and Lower Carboniferous strata on shore near Horse Roads between Pease Bay and Cove.

15. Tantallon Castle and Bass Rock near Oxroad Bay.
16. Oxroad Bay viewed from Tantallon Castle.
17. Pollen grains of *Genomosperma* showing apparent aperture.
18. *Deltasperma*, a seed with only two integumental lobes and showing slight flattening and curvature. (From Long 1961, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Edin.*, 64, 283, text-fig. 1).
19. *Campptosperma*, a seed showing pronounced curvature (campylotropy), *ibid.* Plate III, fig. 27.
20. *Campptosperma*, diagrams showing U-shaped curvature of seed, and possible derivation of a second integument from hood-like dorsal lip.
21. Longitudinal section of a possible Pteridosperm embryo having two cotyledons with well-developed vascular bundles. If truly interpreted the embryo has lost its integument possibly by abrasion.

BRIGADIER SWINTON OF KIMMERGHAME

By Major J. M. ASKEW

With the death of Alan Swinton, I felt the personal loss of a great friend whom I had known for over forty years. But my loss was also felt by hundreds of people in all walks of life, whom Alan came in contact with in the various facets of his long life.

Born in 1896, he joined the Scots Guards, and soon found himself thrown into the 1914-18 War. On almost the last day of that conflict, he was wounded and lost a foot, but, such was his determination, he did not allow this to impair his mobility. He was a good and intrepid horseman, keen on sailing, and I well remember seeing him dance a most spirited foursome reel.

He continued his regimental soldiering, commanding the 2nd Bn., Scots Guards, in Egypt in 1935 and 1936, and then came service in the 1939-45 War.

After the War and his retirement from the army, he returned to live at his much loved Kimmerghame, rebuilding it after its disastrous fire.

His life then turned to Local Government, where he soon became Chairman of the Planning Committee, and was able, by his enthusiasm, to help the development of Berwickshire and the fight against the depopulation of the County.

During his 34 years of membership of the Berwickshire Naturalists, his interest and knowledge of history and antiquity drove him on to do so much for the Club and especially for the excavations of Coldingham Priory. His unremitting efforts to secure finance for this project were a lesson in perseverance.

Once his rather bluff exterior had been penetrated, he was the kindest of men, the truest of friends, and it was a joy to sit and talk with him by his fireside.

He welcomed those who cared to use his interesting library, and he had no hard feelings for those who took another view and who held opposite opinions to his.

Big-minded and big in stature, he is very much missed by so many, including young people, whom he took so much interest in.

J.M.A.

BOTANICAL OBSERVATIONS DURING 1972

Notes compiled by A. G. LONG, Hancock Museum

VASCULAR PLANTS numbered as in Dandy's List (1958)

- 24/4 *Thelypteris dryopteris* Oak Fern, in birch wood near Bonaparte's Plantation, Mellerstain. NT 64, VC 81. 13th May, Mrs. E. O. Pate.
- 254/13 *Epilobium nerterioides* New Zealand Willow-herb, Craster, NU21, VC 68. Mrs. D. Blair.
- 413/3 *Solanum nigrum* Black Nightshade. A single specimen turned up as a garden weed at Chirnside. NT 85, VC 81. Mrs. C. I. Robson.
- 533/1 *Chrysanthemum segetum* Corn Marigold. Abundant in a field of barley on a smallholding near Lamberton. NT 95, VC 81. Mrs. D. Blair.
- 551/1 *Picris echioides* Bristly Ox Tongue. Several plants amongst a row of carrots in a garden at Chirnside, NT 85, VC 81. Mrs. C. I. Robson.
- 551/2 *Picris hieracioides* Hawkweed Oxtongue. Glendale, between Lanton and Coupland Castle. NT 93, VC 68, Sept. 24th. Mrs. D. Blair.
- 607/11 *Allium paradoxum* Few-flowered Garlic. Roadside near Stichill. NT 73, VC 81, May 13th, A.G.L.

COLDINGHAM PRIORY EXCAVATIONS, VII

By DUNCAN NOBLE, M.A.

The third season of excavation took place from 27th March to 8th April, 1972. The team included Mr. D. Price Williams, B.A., assistant director and surveyor; Mr. J. Barfoot, photographer; Mr. W. Webb, site supervisor; and Miss Susan Bennett, B.A., research student of the University of Leicester and Miss Helen Cayton, B.A., research student of the University of Durham, as archaeologists. Taking part were students from Whitelands College, Putney, and the University of London Department of Extra-Mural Studies.

I wish to express my gratitude to the President, Committee, and members of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club for their sustaining encouragement and financial support. Mr. T. D. Thomson in many ways provided advice and assistance, both academic and practical, which leaves the expedition greatly in his debt.

To Mr. R. D. Birch, M.A., Director of Education for Berwickshire and the Berwickshire County Council Education Committee are due thanks for their interest and a grant towards the expenses of excavation. This is accepted most gratefully, with the hope that our efforts will prove of value to Berwickshire.

To Mr. R. F. Knight, M.A., Principal of Whitelands College and to the College Governors go our thanks for provision which made it possible for Whitelands' students to take part in the excavation. To Dr. J. Hazeldene Walker of Whitelands College we must express our gratitude for her energy and advice over so many aspects of the excavation.

Dr. D. Breeze visited the site on behalf of the Department of the Environment and gave much useful help.

During the operations connected with the examination of the tomb of Prior Radulfus we were pleased to have the benefit of the expertise of Mr. R. B. K. Stevenson, Director of the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, and of Dr. H. McKerrell, Dr. J. Close-Brooks and Mr. Bryce.

Operations this year ranged over a large area, with the object of discovering the relationship between the various known buildings, and of establishing the correctness of the siting of walls shown in plans originating from past excavations.

To deal first with work beyond the bounds of the site, one must record three trenches (area E) made in the garden of Brookfield, Manse Road, Coldingham. This garden is south of the church, directly beyond the waste ground which lies to the south of Edgar's Walls. Crop marks in the lawn suggested a rectangular shape at the eastern end of the garden, so with Mr. Walker's kind permission three trenches were sunk, designed to intercept the crop marks. On investigation it became apparent that the marks were caused by long past gardening and that there were no historical remains in the garden.

At the West End of the Church the tomb of Prior Radulfus (d. 1209) became exposed in the course of work and was excavated by Dr. H. McKerrell. The skeleton was substantially intact in a stone slab coffin and sewn into a shroud or habit. The floor of the coffin was bedrock, covered with a thin layer of mortar, with the sides being composed of red sandstone slabs joined with a pale pink mortar and covered by sandstone capstones 7 cms. thick, again mortared together. Failure in the mortar at one joint had, over the centuries, admitted water which had caused deterioration of the central part of the skeleton.

Complete excavation of the area around the coffin not having been carried out, present calculations from levels taken and measurements made indicate that the upper surface of the capstones of the coffin was just a few centimetres below the level of the higher floor found on the north side of the inner portion of the porch in 1971.¹ So Radulfus was buried in the earlier of the two churches. The shallow depth of soil between the floor and bedrock could account for the raising of the northern side of the porch floor which was so puzzling during its excavation.

The coffin was kite-shaped with a rectangular recess for the head. The interior length, including recess, was 2 m. 6 cms., breadth at the widest part 57 cms., and the interior depth 40 cms.

The Prior lay on his back with his arms by his sides and was sewn, anteriorly, into a shroud or habit of blackened cloth which fitted close to the head, leaving the face exposed. The cloth is currently under examination.

Dr. Dorothy Lunt, of the Glasgow Dental Hospital, has examined the dentition and reports that the extent of attrition on two teeth corresponds to an age of 30-32 on the attrition scale for Anglo-Saxon teeth. If mediaeval diet were somewhat less coarse, then the estimate should be raised, perhaps to 36-38. It is unlikely that he could have been over 40 at death. He probably had a prominent chin.

¹Noble : Coldingham Excavations, VI; HBNC XXXIX, 18.

Dr. A. Young, of Edinburgh, has reported at length on the bones. By various formulae Radulfus' height is estimated at between 176 cms. (5 ft. 9 in.) and 186 cms. (6 ft. 1 in.). He was, or had been, a heavily-built muscular individual, and may have been somewhat bowlegged, walking with a limp and keeping his head bowed.

Prior Radulfus has since been re-interred.

In the Abbey Yard Field (Areas A and B) there was no doubt that up to just over a metre of the top burden was the dump belonging to the excavations in the 1930s when the cloister garth was cleared. Therefore when the use of an earth-moving machine was offered, the opportunity was taken to remove this spoil eastwards off the site.

Our heartfelt thanks are owed to Mr. J. N. Davidson, of Press Castle, Coldingham, for this most generous assistance which has permitted a change to be made from narrow trench to open area excavation. The whole character of the Abbey Yard Field operation has thus changed, and already the amount of information retrieved has increased several-fold. Credit must be given to the operator, who could work to a tolerance of within an inch, for the completion of this without entering a stratified deposit.

The mortar floor of the reputed chapter house, already found in the excavation of the cemetery in 1970-71, was uncovered over its whole extent and along its eastern edge was a line of red sandstone ashlar blocks, the remains of a wall at the east end of this room. From the already excavated southern wall of the chapter house (between A1 and A5 on the site plan) a wall runs south. The meaning of the oft-used phrase "the accidents of excavation" is brought home when one realises that the narrow trench A5 passed along its eastern face, just missing it, and B1 of the 1970 season cut into its alignment just where it had been robbed out in post-Reformation times. This wall runs into, and is apparently later than, the earlier phase of the southern wall of the so-called chapter house. But this requires confirmation from wider excavation.

In B2 a section was cut between this north-south wall and the north-east corner of Edgar's Walls which shows that the north-south wall is later than Edgar's Walls. Going with the bottom of the one remaining ashlar course of the north-south wall is a layer of puddled clay, suggesting a flagged floor later robbed out. The corner of Edgar's Walls displays two very fine chamfered courses surmounted with ashlar masonry, all associated with a rough stone and mortar floor. It has been a building of higher quality than hitherto imagined.

Running eastwards from the southern end of the north-south

wall in B2 is a short piece of wall which awaits fuller excavation. It was cut out when the north-south wall was put in and appears to be on the same surface as Edgar's Walls. Associated with it is a fireplace. In 1970 its continuation was found in the south-western section of B1, surviving as just one stone on puddled clay. No trace was found of it running across B1.

In C2 excavation was done in a 1.5-metre square round the base of the large buttress on the wall that remains standing above ground level.

This is a most important area, containing as it does the deep stratified evidence to link the Abbey Yard Field with the Church, so an account is given in some detail.

The upper levels contained modern and post-medieval rubbish down to 90 cms. below present ground level, and underneath this were different features in the soil which require area excavation for interpretation.

Excavation of the base of the east-west standing wall on the south of the trench produced much information. Four phases of the wall could be distinguished without bedrock's being reached. Firstly at the lowest level underneath the standing wall was an ashlar wall surviving three courses. Above this were two rougher courses of later addition. Thirdly there is what is most probably a buttress 107 cms. wide, of which six courses survive. The lowest course is butted up against the earliest wall and the second runs into it. Then the third construction cuts through the second wall. The fourth wall, the present standing one, is cruder and built on top of the second wall.

This is an area that will amply repay painstaking area excavation, which will lead to a greatly increased understanding of the problems of Coldingham's relative chronology.

One can report more briefly on the remaining trenches.

D1 produced the shallow foundation trench containing mortar of a wall which ran north and south on the alignment of the existing standing medieval wall to the north. No traces remained of any floor.

D2 set out to find evidence for the cloister wall under the present recent replica. Shallow linear depressions ran along the eastern and southern sides of the trench, but there was no direct evidence for the cloister wall. It might well be just a short distance to the west.

D4 was sited to search for a wall which early excavation plans suggested might be the wall between the reputed chapter house and the cloister walk. Immediately underneath the wall of the flower bed which abutted on to the west side of the trench was

found a row of stones roughly mortared together which constituted what remained of the medieval wall. All signs of a floor had disappeared in the process of landscaping, but there were definite indications that the cemetery in the Abbey Yard Field originally extended as far west as this wall.

D₃ was designed to test the extent of the wall in D₄. The robbed out foundation trench of this wall was excavated, running north and south. Finds date it to the medieval period.

Area E was the garden already mentioned.

Trench F₁ produced an earlier ground level 50 cms. below present ground level, which is at the sills on the doorways into Edgar's Walls. At this depth, the outside of the north wall of Edgar's Walls projects outwards in a step 50 cms. wide. The trench was abandoned at a depth of 90 cms. because of the dangerous state of Edgar's Walls.

Conclusions

This season achieved its aims, which were to expand our knowledge of the building plan and to provide information on the different building phases.

An advance has been made towards the dating of the earlier church, which had previously been rather hypothetical.

Area C, east of the church, provides deep stratification absent in much of the rest of the site, and current indications are that this area contains buildings closely associated with the church, perhaps an eastwards extension of the sanctuary.

The layout of the buildings in the Abbey Yard Field is now obvious and hypotheses can be made which will be tested in future excavation. Most excitingly, it is clear that a conspectus of the many rebuilding phases of this complicated and fascinating site may shortly be within our reach.

BONKYL, A BARONY OF REGALITY

By GRACE A. ELLIOT

The Barony of Regality of Bonkyl has much to offer in the way of historical association, since it has never been fully appreciated how close its early lords were to their kings, nor how much they took part in Border affairs; therefore, items of special interest have been taken from several sources and brought together in an attempt to show the periods when their advancement may have taken place. The family are not mentioned until the middle of the twelfth century when they suddenly appear as illustrious men taking part in occasions of such national importance that further investigation into their lives seemed warranted.

There can be traced in the present parish of Bonkyl and Preston an almost continuous civilisation from a very early time; hut circles, defensive camps and fort sites extend over the length of Bonkyl Edge from Warlaw to Preston Cleugh and Drakemyre, but the old roads which connected them are now lost.¹ Numerous bronze-age burials discovered in neighbouring parishes, and the bronze-age rapier found near Abbey St. Bathans some years ago, suggest that the old copper mine at Ordweil may have been worked by these early people.

Bonkyl was a Celtic village, the place-name being derived from the Gaelic language, Bon, signifying "a base" and Coille, "a wood",² and like many Berwickshire villages it gave the name to those who lived within its territory, thus, "Bonkil" or "Bonkyl" became the name of the people who lived "at the foot of the wood."

This exact definition is important for two reasons; first because it implies two distinct habitations existing at the same time, and also that those who lived on the ridge, would refer to the people below as the "Boncoille", hinting at their greater superiority.

It is not known when the Bonkils became men of honour and importance, although it is certain that they had reached their zenith by the beginning of the thirteenth century. Their early history, like that of their church, is obscure, yet both might be associated with the victories and defeats of the Alpin kings in Strathclyde and northern Cumberland, when their vassals were called upon to give military aid against the Anglo-Saxon kings of England.

¹See B.N.C. Hist. Vol. 15.

²Johnston's "Place-Names of Berwickshire."

At the beginning of the tenth century several battles took place in that area, when the Scots were forced to submit, and in A.D. 945 after the Saxon king Edmund had ravaged all Strathclyde and northern Cumberland, he ceded it again to Malcolm I of Scotland, on condition "that he would be his fellow-worker both by sea and land."¹ This agreement, together with the previous submissions, had far-reaching consequences, and the long-sighted policy of Edmund in making north Cumberland a dependency of the Scottish crown, kept the Scots busy looking after it "until the reign of William Rufus,"² during which time the Scottish kings paid periodic homage to the English kings, for those territories which they held in Cumberland. Certain of the Scottish princes took the title of "Prince of Cumberland,"³ and men of the Scottish court, specially chosen for their ability in military, civil and judicial matters, undertook the administration.

During the next two centuries, probably one or more of the Bonkil family took part in that work, and like other Border men, they too, would rally to the side of Malcolm II at the battle of Carham in 1018, when the natural boundary of the Tweed between England and Scotland was finally settled. These events would bring the Bonkils into closer contact with their kings, lead to their gradual promotion and ultimately to their baronial status, as well as give some reason for their association with the great landowners in Cumberland; their early connection with the church of Dunkeld and acceptance of the Columban form of religion.

St. Columba is not known to have visited our county, but his church on Iona had much to do with the Christian history of Northumbria, of which Berwickshire was a part. He is supposed to have lived at Dunkeld for a short time and to have had a cell there; the church which followed later is said to have been built by a Pictish king about A.D. 729, in his honour, at the suggestion of Adomnan, Abbot of Iona, who had written the "Life of St. Columba."⁴

St. Columba died in 597, Adomnan in 704, and between these dates several Celtic churches were known to have sprung up in Berwickshire.⁵

A century or so later, when the Norsemen ravaged Iona, Kenneth, the first of the Alpin kings, took some of the relics of St. Columba from the island to Dunkeld for safety, after

¹Anglo-Saxon Chronicles.

²Lang's "Highways and Byways of the Lake District."

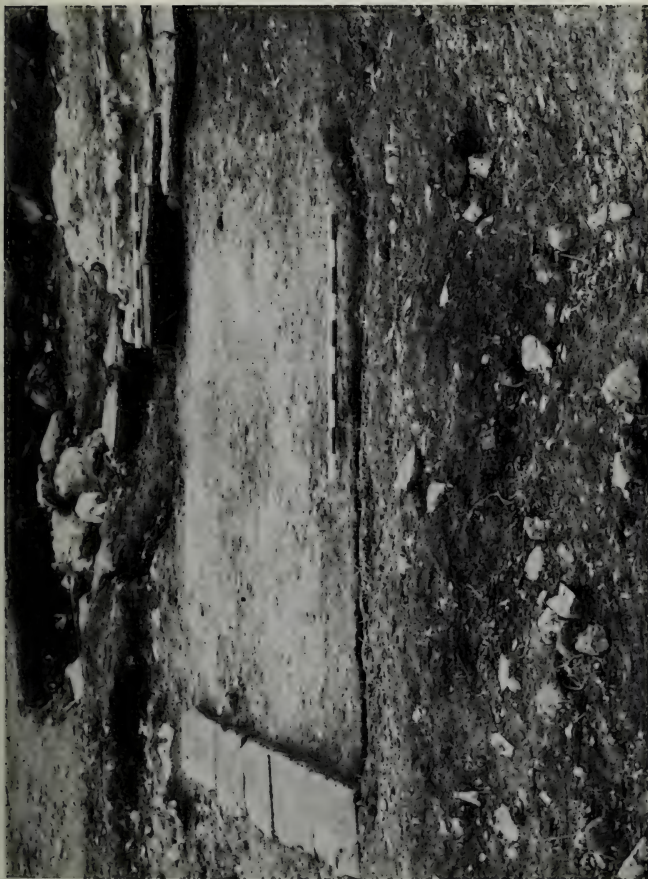
³Terry's "History of Scotland."

⁴and *Keith's "Scottish Bishops."

⁵B.N.C. Hist. Vol. 16.

COLDINGHAM PRIORY EXCAVATIONS, VII

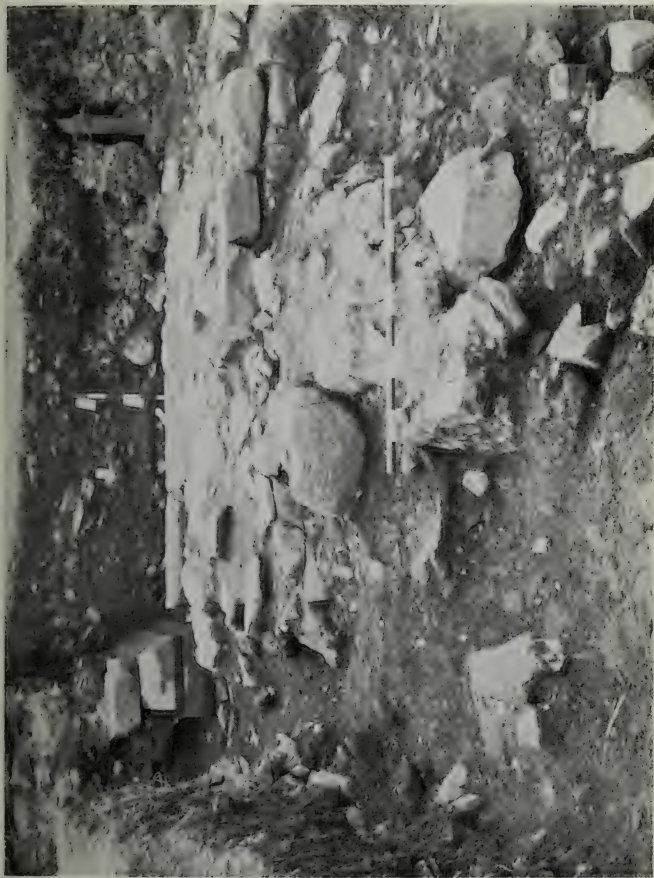
see article on pages 100 to 104



Abbey Yard Field. Areas A1 and 2. The mortar floor of the reputed chapter house from the north. On the left is the east wall and right rear are the two pieces of the southern wall with the later one nearer the camera. The disturbed ground in the foreground and on the right is the area of the excavated cemetery.

Abbey Yard Field. Area Bz. On the left are the lower chamfered courses of Edgars walls, and on the right is the southernmost end of the north south wall whose ground level appears in the section above the lowest label.





Abbey Yard Field, Area B₂. View of Edgars walls and the north south wall from the east. In the foreground is the short wall which runs eastwards towards B₂. The fireplace is just to the left of the left end of the scale rod.

Phase III. Buttress (?)

Phase IV
Present
standing
wall

Phase II
Two rough
courses

Phase I
Ashlar wall



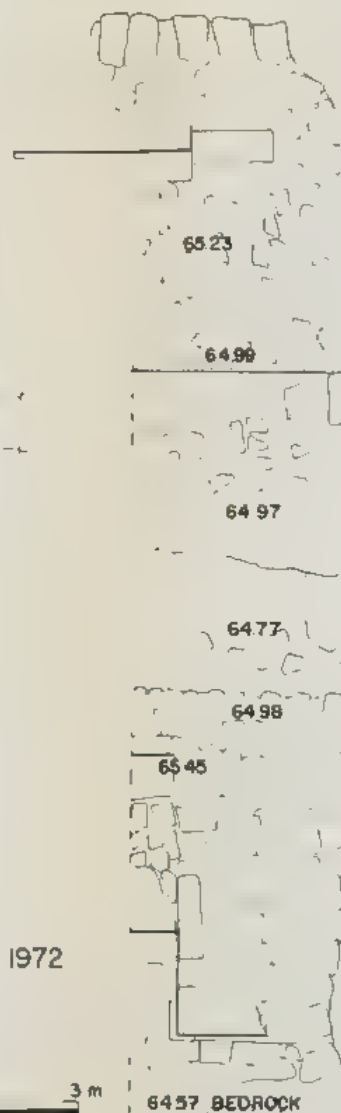
Trench C/2. Showing the three phases of wall and the possible buttress.

LATE FILL

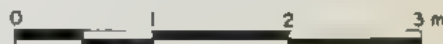
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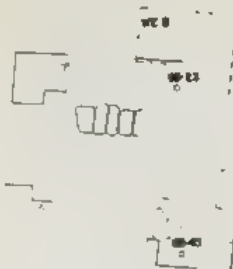
TOMB



COLDINGHAM PRIORY 1972
WEST END



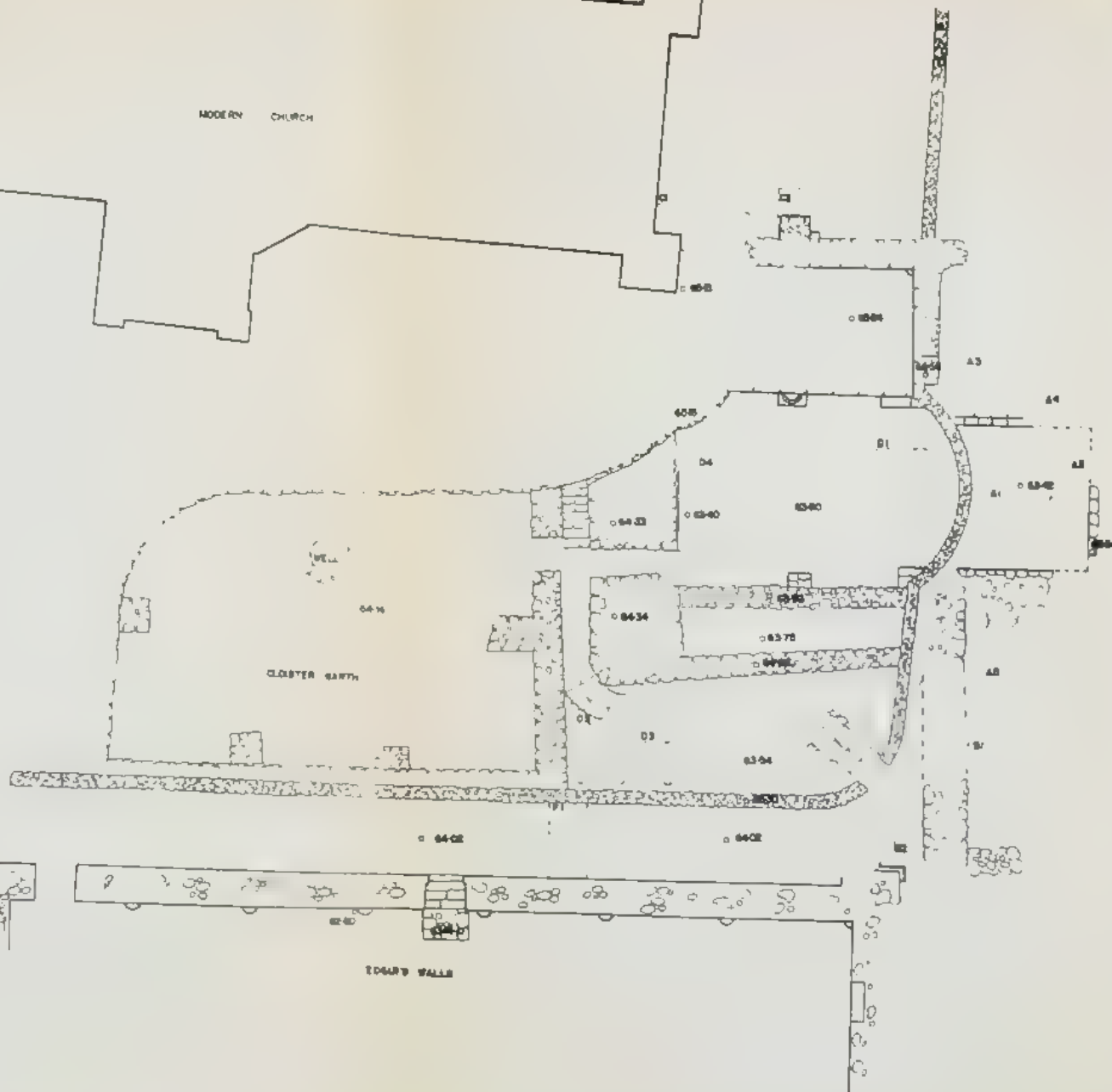
64.57 BEDROCK

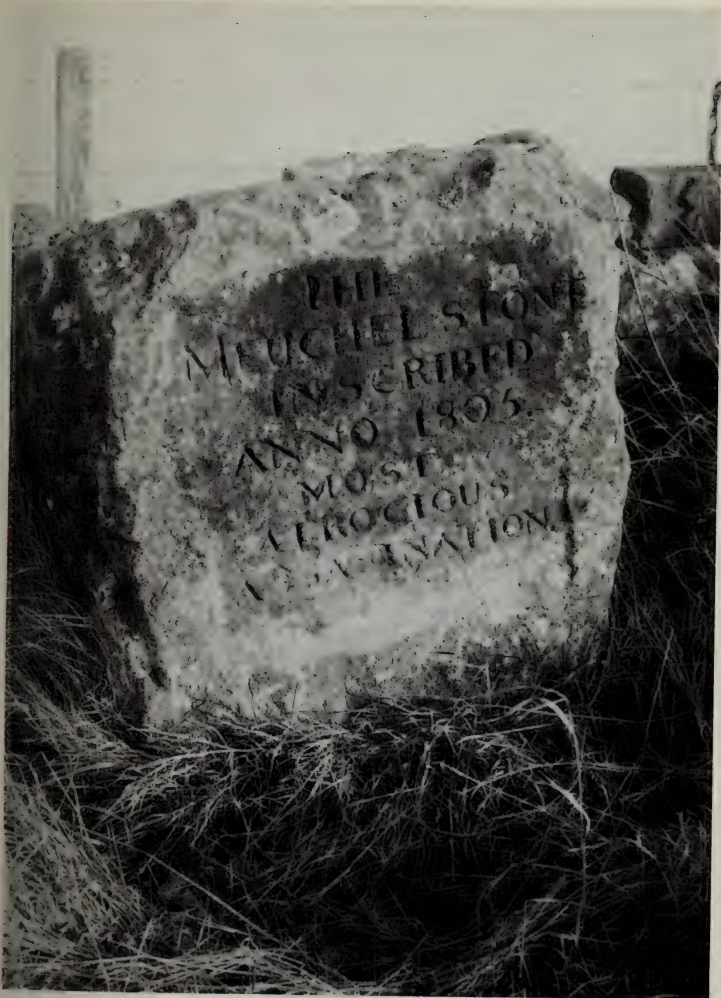


GOLDINGHAM PRIORY 1972



MODERN CHURCH





The Meuchel Stone—see article on page 144

BONKYL, A BARONY OF REGALITY

see article on pages 105 to 118



Seal of Sir Ranulf de Bonekil,
A.D. 1231



Seal of Walter, son
of William de Bon-
kyl.



Seal of John de
Rentoun, A.D. 1430.



Arms of Sir Edward
Boncle, A.D. 1462.
(Azure, a chevron
argent between three
buckles, or.)

which the church there, became the principal religious establishment of the Culdees.*

Belonging to the kings of Scotland, the church of Dunkeld grew more important during the reign of Malcolm II (1005-34) when Malcolm's daughter Bethoc married Crinan, the Abbot of Dunkeld.¹

Although barons were unknown at this time, the marriage would call for the attendance at the ceremony of those men in the king's service considered most worthy; it was also a natural opportunity for the king to make new gifts of land to the church and its community, and to confer some recognition for service upon his vassals.

When the church of Bonkyl was founded is not known, but its connection with that of Dunkeld hints at some influence of either the king or his abbot, since only the king could give permission to build a church. Perhaps at Bonkyl such permission was part of the gift of Malcolm II to the church of Dunkeld and to the family of Bonkil. This first church would be built of wood, and since it was simply a family or manorial church it need not be noticed in the early church valuations. "Bunkle is not mentioned in the earliest valuations of church livings in Scotland, nor in the Papal Taxation Roll; but appears under the Bishopric of Dunkeld in Bayamund's Roll in 1275."²

Malcolm Canmore, who was brought up at the English court of Edward the Confessor, succeeded to the crown of Scotland in 1057. He took into his court in 1067, Edgar Atheling and Margaret his sister, when they fled from the pursuit of William the Conqueror. "When Malcolm married Margaret he was immediately embroiled with Norman England."³ He advanced to York in 1070, and later William retaliated by "advancing into Scotland as far as Abernethy where he made Canmore his vassal (1072), but whether for his kingdom, for his Celtic divisions of it, or merely for a gift of manors in England is debated."⁴

William the Conqueror who brought his barons to England created baronies there for the first time. Malcolm Canmore knew this, and when he gave Dunbar and Lothian to his cousin Gospatrick, Earl of Northumberland, he probably created the first barony in Scotland. Towards the end of his reign he "bestowed the Abbacy of Dunkeld upon his third son, Ethelred Earl of Fife,"⁵ a fitting occasion to confirm previous gifts and make new ones to that Church, gifts, which may have taken the new and unusual form of creating in Scotland, barons and

¹Keith's "Scottish Bishops."

²B.N.C. Hist. Vol. 16.

³ and ⁴Terry's "History of Scotland."

⁵Chalmers' "Caledonia."

baronies among the more esteemed of his vassals, who in turn would also make gifts to the church.

The date is early, and there is no written proof yet found, but it is more than likely that the family of Bonkyl were ennobled at this time, when they probably started to build a stone castle at Bonkyl and replace their older wooden church with one of stone.

The Coldingham Charters of king Edgar (1097-1106) and his brother Alexander I are silent regarding Bonkyl, but it is significant that Edgar granted to the monks of St. Cuthbert at Coldingham, the lands of Kimmerghame, Edrom, Swinewood, etc., which were later confirmed by Alexander I,¹ perhaps not realising that part of them already belonged to Bonkyl.² When their youngest brother David, the Earl of Huntingdon and Prince of Cumberland, succeeded to the Scottish crown in 1124, he at once began to modernise his kingdom by introducing new laws. "He suppressed all Culdean monasteries, raised the church of Dunkeld to Cathedral status, and made it a free Regality, about 1127."³

If David's father had already made Bonkyl a barony, and its church was already connected with Dunkeld, then it would quite naturally become a "Barony of the Regality of Dunkeld," at this time.

"Baronies and regalities were freehold estates of which the King was the acknowledged proprietor. Regalities were granted by the King to the Prelates, a Lord of Regality having jurisdiction over it equal to that of the King."⁴ Several baronies were often included within a Regality and paid their customary dues to the Regality Lord.

A baron was allowed by licence from the king to have power and liberty to hold courts within his own lands, with the privilege to prosecute, try, and judge his vassals within his own court; he also had the right of receiving toll, and compelling a person in whose hands stolen property was found, to name the person from whom he received it (toll and teem); he had the power of infangthief, which was to imprison and execute felons belonging within the extent of jurisdiction of his court, and of outfangthief, which was the same power over those caught within the legal bounds of the court but who lived outwith its boundary.⁵ Regality powers were similar but extended over all the baronies within it.

¹Raine's "North Durham."

²B.N.C. Hist. Vol. 13.

³Berwickshire "Old Documents." Folio 9, Folder 61.

⁴, ⁵ and *. Can be found in Mackay McKenzie's "Source Book of Administrative Law," or Chalmer's "Caledonia."

The Baron court was appointed by the Baron, and consisted of his baillie, who could be a member of his own family, or his lawyer, together with some of his most worthy feuars and tenants, and the Barony was allowed to hold a weekly market and an annual fair; the revenues so accruing from them went to the baronial lords. "When a baron obtained his territorial grant from the king, he built a castle, a church, a milne, a kiln and a brewhouse for the accommodation of his followers."*

If it could be reliably stated that Thomas the Rhymer composed the following lines,

"Bunkle, Billie and Blanern,
Three castles strong as airn,
Built when Davey was a bairn,"¹

then the suggested date of the barony of Bonkyl belongs to the last years of Malcolm Canmore's reign, especially when it is known that prince "Davey" was only about twelve years old when his father died in 1093. The building of the Norman church of Bonkyl in stone was probably later and may have been contemporary with either the building of Coldingham Priory or the mid-twelfth century "re-building in stone of Norham castle, c. 1157, by Richard of Wolviston the master mason of Durham."²

Coldingham charters first refer to Bonkyl in 1130 when David I walked and defined the boundaries between the parishes of Bonkyl and Coldingham after a dispute, which may have been brought about by the fact that the woods and moors belonging to Bonkyl lay within the bounds of Edrom and Kimmerghame, places granted to the monks and Priory of Coldingham by Edgar; the boundaries were also confirmed by William the Lyon, who, "commanded the following woods should be in the keeping of the Prior and his monks."³ The woods were Harewood, Denewood, Brockholes wood and Swinewood, belonging to Bonkyl, but lying in the bounds of Edrom. This command must have followed close upon the appointment of Richard of Raynton as "Hereditary Keeper of the forests of Coldinghamshire," by Prior Ærnald between 1202 and 1208.⁴

From the charters of king Edgar and his brothers and William the Lyon, concerning these lands, and the disputes over the boundaries, came the mistaken belief that Bonkyl for some time belonged to Durham rather than Dunkeld. This was never so.

The Family of Bonkil

The first mention of any Border family is often to be found

¹Henderson's "Popular Rhymes of Berwickshire."

²Raine's "North Durham."

³Gordon's "Monasticon."

⁴Carr's "History of Coldingham."

in the charters of Coldingham Priory,¹ but in this case the first written evidence of the Bonkils so far found is in the Chartulary of Kelso, the rest are taken from Coldingham and Coldstream charters.

1. Ade de Bonekill, witnessed a charter by Richard Cumyn granting to the monks of Kelso, the church of Lintonroderic, c. 1160. He also witnessed another at the same time, by Hi of Simprim.²
2. Adam de Bonekil (perhaps son of the above) and Bertram, Prior of Coldingham (1188-99) witnessed a charter concerning the lands of Bondington.
3. Alexander de Bonekil and Prior Ærnald (1202-08) witnessed a charter about land in the town of Coldingham.
4. Ada de Bonekil witnessed another in 1209 concerning Beinrig, during the short priorship of Radulphus. This Ada de Bonekil was Sheriff of Berwickshire, and possibly the son of Adam and grandson of Ade (No. 1 above) and brother to Alexander and Ranulph.
5. Sir Ranulf de Bonekil is the first knight of the family to be mentioned; "he lived in the time of King John and Henry III."³ His round seal portrays him "as an equestrian knight in mail hauberk and surcoat, helmet with nasal and mail coif; bearing a sword and kite-shaped shield," with the legend "Sigill: Ranulfi de Bonekil."⁴ The seal is illustrated and described by the late Dr. C. H. Hunter Blair, a Past-president of our Club, in his "Catalogue of Durham Seals," a fortunate record, since it is proof that Sir Ranulf de Bonekil was a renowned member of his family, a man of no mean ability, a valiant soldier, perhaps even a crusader, and certainly at the height of power and influence. His seal partly determined this research, as few appear to have been used in Scotland before 1182 and the date of Sir Ranulf's, A.D. 1231, is comparatively early; it is quite possible that he used it even before this date; also, since it depicts him as a "mailed horseman" it declares to us, that he would give to his king, a Knight's service in warfare—a service introduced by the Normans after the conquest—the knight's fee in England was represented by the hauberk or coat of mail, his first service was to give forty days a year with specified armour to the king and secondly to give the service of "castle ward" at the king's pleasure. Knights paid their fees to the king for the lands they held of him.⁵

¹Raine's "North Durham."

²Dated by the Lord Lyon Geo. Cambell Swinton (1923-26) father of the late Brigadier Alan H. C. Swinton of Kimmerghame.

³ and ⁴Dr. C. H. Hunter Blair's "Catalogue of Durham Seals."

⁵Encycl. Brit. 11th edit.

To prove this latter service and a possible earlier date for the seal we find that "in 1212 Sir Ranulf was excused from an Assize in Cumberland *because he was with the King of Scotland*,"¹ (also a proof of his Cumberland connections), and again "In 1216 his Manor of Uvedale was seized by the English king John, and restored again in 1217-18"² (by Henry III). These dates are important, for William the Lyon in 1199 had demanded of John restitution of northern earldoms in England, and after a period of armed inaction made a peaceable treaty in 1212 without recovering the earldoms,³ a fact which seems to explain Sir Ranulf's absence from the Assize, and also his presence at Bonkyl in 1216, when Alexander II confirmed the boundaries there.

Of the four charters concerning Swinewood, Sir Ranulf witnessed three and was mentioned in the fourth. Swinewood belonged to the Earls of Dunbar who quit-claimed the lands. Alexander II gave a charter of Confirmation of this quit-claim, which was "done at Roxburgh on the 9th March in the seventeenth year of his reign," 1231. Among the witness are "Dns Ranulf de Bonekil and Willo de Bonekil."⁴ There is no charter to say that the lands of Swinewood were quit-claimed in Sir Ranulf's favour, yet it must have been so, because later in 1231, when "Dns Ranulphus de Bonekil" renounced his claim in favour of the monks of St. Cuthbert at Coldingham of his moors and woods which lay in Coldinghamshire, Swinewood was added to Harewood, Denewood and Brockholes wood,⁵ all of which he possibly resigned, together with Todheugh in Edrom, purposely to rid himself and his heirs from further dispute. This charter of Renunciation has the seal of Sir Ranulf attached to it.⁶

About the same time he witnessed a charter of the gift of lands by Henry of Hasskirk (Ashkirk) to the Nuns of the Convent of St. Mary of Coldstream,⁷ and before 1242 "Ranulfo de bonekil" with "Walter Olifard," justicaire of Lothian (d. 1242) witnessed a charter by "Mariota de Chirnside sometime wife of Richard of Renington"⁸ (i.e. Richard the forester of Raynton). The last charter in which his name appears as witness is a "Composition between A . . . Prior of Coldingham and the mayor and burgesses of Berwick," c. 1250, signed "Dno Ranulfo de Bonekil."⁹

Sir Ranulf's close attendance on William the Lyon and his participation in Border affairs led eventually to his marriage with an "heiress of the Greystoke family in Cumberland, when

¹ and ²C.D.S.

³Chamber's "Biographical Dictionary."

⁴, ⁵, ⁶, ⁸, ⁹Raine's "North Durham."

⁷Coldstream "Chartulary."

he became Lord of Uvedale and Gilcrux. The Bonkils gave Gilcrux to a younger brother, Robert, whose sons Thomas and Walter, gave Gilcrux to Calder Abbey, which grant Sir Ranulph de Bonekil, Lord of Quildale and Gilcrux confirmed."¹

"He had a son Alexander, whose son Adam, gave land in Uldale to Carlisle Priory. Adam's son Alexander had a daughter and heiress who married (1) Sir John Stewart, kinsman to the king of Scotland, and (2) Sir David Brigham,² who forfeited Uldale to the Lucy family."³ For these lands in Cumberland Sir Ranulf and his heirs paid periodic homage to the English kings.

He was a member of the Scottish committee of twelve knights, who with a similar English committee "ascertained the Laws of the Border Marches in 1249 and enforced their observation,"⁴ and where his name appears as Sir Radulphus de Boukle,⁵ probably a mis-reading of "Bonkle", or else the author took the name from the buckles on Sir Ranulf's shield of Arms, which he seems to have adopted "for the purpose of their having *some allusive association through similarity of sound in their names*,"⁶ with that of his family and barony, "*this allusive quality began in the thirteenth century and is called Canting*."⁷

6. Sir Alexander de Bonekyl, great grandson of Sir Ranulf, was equally involved in Border affairs. In 1299 his seal of "three buckles" with the legend of "S . . . Andri. de Bonk," and his shield of Arms: "Sable, three buckles Or," were used. "His wife was called Christina."⁸

He is first mentioned after the death of Alexander III, in 1286, as a member of the "Committee of Estates" at Birgham in 1289, where he was a signatory to the letter addressed to Edward I of England from the Community of Scotland, concerning the "Dispensation for the marriage of Margaret, their dear lady and Queen, with Prince Edward,"⁹ a proposed marriage which led to the signing of the "Treaty of Birgham" in July 1290, to uphold the "Independence of Scotland," and its freedom from English interference in its internal affairs. One of the clauses of this important treaty was a "Proposal by the Scots, that the castles and fortresses should not be fortified anew upon the Marches."¹⁰

When the young queen died in Orkney on her way to Scotland,

¹Burns & Nicholson's "Cumberland and Westmorland."

²Brigham or Breghin for "Breachin."

³Burns & Nicholson's "Cumberland and Westmorland."

⁴ and ⁵Nicholson's "Leges Marchiarum." (Border Laws).

⁶ and ⁷Boutelle's "Heraldry."

⁸C.D.S.

⁹Tytler's "History of Scotland." Vol. I.

¹⁰Tytler's "History of Scotland." Vol. I.

the kingdom was plunged into conflict and a contested succession to the crown, much aggravated by "Edward's assertion at Norham in May, 1291, that he was Lord Paramount of Scotland."¹ The Scottish nobles, who had sought Edward's help in the choice of a king, were unprepared for his ruthless ambition to subjugate their country and force from it a homage which he insisted had been made by former Scottish kings to England on behalf of their kingdom, whereas—except for a short period during the reign of William the Lyon—the kings of Scotland had only given homage to England for the lands they held in that country. But, when John Baliol became king of Scotland, Edward forced homage from him and made him his vassal and the Scottish nobles had no other option than to submit and swear fealty to Edward also; thus commenced what became known as the "Regeman" or "Ragman Rolls", the signed "Oaths of Fealty" by the people of Scotland to Edward I. From 1291 to 1296 these were signed at many different places, the last and most important where oaths of allegiance were given was at Berwick in 1296, after the final humiliation of Baliol at Stracathro that year.²

Sir Alexander de Bonkhill signed at Berwick in 1291, where he touched and kissed the Sacred Cross, swearing fidelity to Edward I as direct superior of the kingdom of Scotland. He swore again at Newcastle upon Tyne in 1292 (perhaps for his lands in Cumberland), and again at Berwick in 1296, as from Edinburgh.³ He was "dead before April 1300, when an inquest was held on his lands in Cumberland at Carlisle."⁴ Other members of the family whose names appear in the Ragman Roll are: John de Bonekil, Thomas Bonequill and Agnes de Bonkhille, whose Oath of fealty is the last to be fully recorded there. It is written in Norman-French.⁵

As both Bonkyl and Preston churches were already within the Regality of Dunkeld and paying revenues to the Prelates there, (who supplied them with vicars), it is not so very strange to find that they also swore fealty to Edward at Berwick in 1296. Their names were: "Master Hervy, Deen of Dunkeldyin; Thomas de Preston, chanoigne of the church of Dunkeldyin, and Dovenal, vicaire of Dunkeld. Nichol Perre de Bonekil" also signed.⁶

7. Margaret de Bonekil, daughter and heiress of Sir Alexander, had married c. 1280, Sir John Stewart, second son of Sir Alexander Stewart, the High Steward of Scotland, and who

¹Terry's "History of Scotland."

²Terry's "History of Scotland" and Ridpath's "Border History."

³ and ⁵The Ragman Rolls.

⁴C.D.S.

⁶Ragman Rolls.

"added the Arms of Bonkil to his own,"¹ but Sir John never truly became "of Bonkyl" because he was killed at the battle of Falkirk in 1298 before the death of his father-in-law. He was a strong supporter of William Wallace when many nobles had deserted his cause; records of the battle tell of Sir John's bravery and how "columns of infantry, with intermediate companies of archers kept their ground and a few armed knights remained beside them, amongst these Sir John Stewart of Bonkyl in marshalling the ranks of the archers from the forest of Selkirk was thrown from his horse. The faithful bowmen tried to rescue him, but in vain, he was slain and the tall athletic figures of those who fell around him, drew forth the praise of the enemy, but on the death of this leader the archers gave way" (Hemingford). Sir John lies buried at Falkirk.²

"Sir John had inherited with his wife the lands of Uvedale in Cumberland,"³ and in his "Historical Account of Bonkyl"⁴ the late Dr. Hardy of Oldcambus wrote that "it has been doubted whether Sir John Stewart had married Margaret de Bonekil; but there was an inquest of the clergy of the deanery of Allerdale, which was held at Wigton on 20th July, 1305, and which expressly 'found that Sir Alexander de Bonekil had a daughter Margaret, who was now lately dead, and that in her father's lifetime she had married Sir John Stewart, brother of the High Steward of Scotland.' There are records in the Tower to confirm this fact."

The necessity to prove this marriage after Margaret's death may have been due to the fact that her eldest son claimed his right to the estate in Cumberland, perhaps against the counterclaim of his step-father Sir David Brechin, whom his mother had married about 1299; Sir David got the estate however, although the Stewarts retained their title as Lords of Uvedale.⁵

It is not known whether Bonkyl ever became a castle ward of Berwick, but three possible periods suggest that this could have taken place; as early as the reign of William the Lyon, when Sir Ranulf may have done knight's service there during the king's pleasure; after Edward I took Berwick and forced oaths of fealty from the Scots in 1296, which both Sir Alexander de Bonkyl and Sir David Brechin swore; or when Sir David had married Margaret de Bonkil, and was Governor of Berwick castle during pleasure in 1304, when a tax may have been levied on the barony of Bonkyl, after its castle had fallen to Edward, without resistance. This was no military triumph as some

¹ and ³C.D.S.

²Tytler's "History of Scotland."

⁴Session Book of Bunkle and Preston.

⁵Uvedale is Ulldale.

references suggest, the castle was easily overcome because it was purely domestic and quite unfortified—apart from the clause against re-fortification in the treaty of Birgham—also, it may have been uninhabited at the time, since Sir Alexander Stewart, like his father, was a follower of Sir William Wallace, and his mother was by then probably living in Berwick castle; from this it is easy to guess why there was a “Bownkell Towre”¹ in the castle of Berwick.

The relationship between the following “de Bonkils” and the main branch of the family is uncertain, but they are too important to omit here.

1. Walter de Bonkyl, styled “son of William de Bonkyl” used as his arms and seal, “two keys back to back and in base a mollet.” This seal was also used in 1331 by “John Pysre, son of Walter de Bonekyll and burgess of Berwick upon Tweed.”²

The seal is of interest because of the keys, which do not appear to represent those of St. Peter, but rather the old Celtic religious symbols of power and possessions. “The key facing towards a person meant power of family or the person himself; the key facing outwards from a person meant power or position in church or country.”³ From this it can be supposed that neither William nor Walter were of the Bonkil family, since no “buckle” appears on the seal, but that both had been vicars of Bonkyl, sent by the prelates of Dunkeld from another parish, and in which case their name was likely to have been “Pysre”.

2. A Coldingham charter of 1429-31 bears the seal of “Thomas Atkinson de Bonekyll fil de Ade.” “On a chevron, three buckles.”⁴
3. John of Renton used for his Arms: “a chevron between three buckles.” 1429.⁵ He also, or another
4. “John of Renton, used the Lion Rampant with a buckle on its shoulder,” 1430.⁶ In both cases close connection with the family of Bonkil is indicated.
5. Sir Edward Boncle, 1462, is the last illustrious member of the family to be recorded. He was the first provost of the church of the Holy Trinity in Edinburgh, founded by Marie de Gueldres in 1462, and to which he presented an organ.

In Linklater’s “Royal House of Scotland” is an excellent description of Sir Edward, and also in J. B. Barclay’s “Edinburgh” there is an illustration taken from the set of triptych pictures in the National Gallery of Scotland, portraying Sir

¹See Scott’s “Berwick upon Tweed.”

², ⁴, ⁵, ⁶C.D.S.

³Birch’s “Scottish Seals.”

Edward kneeling in prayer beside his organ while an angel plays it. The angel is a portrait of queen Marie of Gueldres, no doubt representing St. Cecilia the patroness of music. Neither author mentions the Arms of Sir Edward displayed on the side of the music stool, which are "Azure, a chevron argent between three buckles, or."¹

Another reference is made to Sir Edward in 1479, "in October of that year on hearing a cause in Parliament the Lord directed Rolly Lermouth and others to prove that Schir John Herriot, the vicar of Soutra, had power from Schir Edward Bonkle, the Provost of the Trinity College beside Edinburgh to lease the tithes of Fawnys."² This suggests that the church of Holy Trinity, although younger by two centuries, had become the ecclesiastical head of the Trinity House of Soutra. Sir Edward is again mentioned in connection with this church in 1502, when "owing to the unsettled state of the country, it would appear that Sir Edward Bonkil, the first provost, had to apply to Parliament for assistance, to enforce the payments of his rents in Teviotdale."³

With the passing of Sir Edward, the old Celtic race of Bonkil disappears from history, and the last written evidence of those living in Berwickshire is likely to be that of "Edward, sone to Ralf Bonkle, maltman and inkeeper" who in 1630 witnessed a "Tak" of land between John Bowmaker in Printonan and George Paco in Deadrigs.⁴ These two Bonkles kept the old family names and may have been innkeepers at either Leitholm or Birgham, as there did not seem to be an inn at Eccles at this time. There are still Buncles living in Edinburgh today.

The Barony of Regality had passed from the family with the marriage of Margaret to Sir John Stewart, whose seven⁵ sons became the ancestors of many famous families. The eldest, Sir Alexander Stewart, Baron of Bonkyl was the progenitor of the Stewart earls of Angus; Sir Alan, the second son, became of "Dreghorn" and he also bought the estate of Darnley in 1330 and became the progenitor of the Earls and Dukes of Lennox, from whom Henry, Lord Darnley, husband of Mary Queen of Scots was descended. The earls of Lennox were also ancestors of the Seigneurs d'Aubigny, powerful and illustrious men of the court of France; one, Esmé Stewart spent much time at the court of king James VI, who created him Duke of Lennox. Sir Alan Stewart was killed at the battle of Halidon Hill. His immediate younger brother, Sir Walter, was the ancestor of

¹Letter from the National Gallery of Scotland official.

² and ³Chalmers "Caledonia."

⁴Berwickshire "Old Documents." Large Folio, Folder 61.

⁵Chalmers and Terry note only four sons; Burke's "Extinct Peerage" gives five, and B.N.C. unpublished Mss, seven.

the earls of Galloway, and Sir James the fourth son, who was also killed at Halidon in 1333, was ancestor of the earls of Buchan, Athol and Traquair. Sir John the fifth son was killed at Halidon; Sir Hugh, the sixth, fought in Ireland under Edward Bruce, and died 1318; the youngest became Sir Robert Stewart of Dol or Dul,¹ ancestor of the Coltness, Goodtrees, Allanton and Allanbank families.² These last two places likely refer to those of the same name in Ayrshire, known to have existed before Berwickshire ones.³ The only daughter of Margaret de Bonkil and Sir John Stewart was Isobel, who married Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray; their daughter, Agnes became the wife of Patrick, earl of Dunbar, memorable as "Black Agnes" during her splendid defence of the castle of Dunbar. For the rest of the baronial records see those of the Earls of Angus and Douglas.

Of the more modern barony of Bonkyl and Preston within the Regality of Dunkeld, we find that James Lorain, sheriff clerk of Berwickshire, was baillie of the Baron court in 1747,⁴ when Regality courts were abolished by Act of Parliament, like other heritable jurisdictions. The barony at this time included Stow in Wedale. In the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, there is one Court book for the "Regality of Boncle and Preston," covering the dates 1686-90. (Ref. RHII/8).⁵

The late Dr. George Henderson of Chirnside has left this record of Bonkyl castle: "A small portion of the north wall in which a postern doorway still remains, and a few scattered fragments skirting the green mound is all that remains of this once massive stronghold. The site of the ruin is close upon the road leading from Auchencrow to Dunse—a little to the north of Bonkyl church. The walls of the castle have been of great thickness, very compact and have been built of large whinstones; the moat surrounding the walls can be traced easily. About seventy years ago a small village surrounded the ruins of Buncle castle of which not a vestige now remains."⁶

The Norman Apse is all that is left of the ancient church of Bonkyl and this is well described in the "Inventory of Berwickshire Monuments" a report by the Royal Commission for such in 1915; and Club members are reminded that the late Dr. Hardy's transcription of the "Session Book of Bonckle," with his "Historical Description of the Parish," published by the Club in 1899, is still the most important work regarding this ancient barony; every effort has been made here, to overlap as little as

¹Skene's "Celtic Scotland." Vol. II.

²B.N.S. Mss.

³Johnston's "Place-names of Berwickshire."

⁴Berwickshire "Old Documents."

⁵Record Office note, 1972.

⁶Copy of Dr. Henderson's Mss. Vol. I, in Duns Library.

possible with Dr. Hardy's work, or that of the other authors included in it.

My thanks are due to Roy Huddleston, Esq., Editing Secretary of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, for help regarding the marriage of Sir Ranulf de Bonkil with an heiress of Uvedale; to Hugh Brigstock, Esq., Assistant Keeper of the National Galleries of Scotland, for the description of Sir Edward Boncle's shield of Arms on the organ stool, and to J. K. Bates, Esq., for verifying the existence of the Regality Court Book of Bonkyl in the Record Office in Edinburgh.

Agnes de Bonkhille's Oath of Fealty
at Berwick, A.D. 1296

"Atouz ceaus qui Cestes lettres verront ou orront.

Agnes de Bonkhille/del counte de Berewyk—Saluz.

Pur ceo que jeo fuy venuz á la foi é á la volunte du tresnoble Prince é mon chier Seigneur Sire Edward par la grace Dieu/ Roi Dengleterre/Seignor Dirland/é Ducs Daquitaigne/jeo promet pur moi é pur mes heirs sur peine de cors é davoit/é sur quant qe jeo puisse encore/que jeo ly servirai bien é leaument contres totes les foiz que jeo serrai requis ou garniz de par nostre Seigneur le Roi Dengleterre avantdit/ou par ses heirs. E que jeo leur damage ne sauroie que jeo nil desturberay á tot mon poer/é le leur fray á savoir. E á cestes choses tenir é garder/ jeo oblige moy émes heirs/é touz nos biens/é outre ceo ai jeo jurez sur Seintes Evangeiles. Estre ceo jeo ai fait feauté a nostre Seignor le Roi Dengleterre avantdit en cestes paroles.

Jeo serrai feal é leal/é foi é leaute porterai au Roi Edward Roi Dengleterre /é á ses heirs/ de vie é de membres/é de terrien honur contre totes gentz qui purront vivre é morir/é jammes pur nuly armes ne porterai/ nen conseil/ nen eide ne serrai contre ly ne contra ses heirs en nul cas que poet avenir/é leaument reconnstrey/é leaument frai les services que apartenant as tenementz que jeo cleim tenir de ly/ si meide Dieu é les Seintz. En tesmoignance des queus choses/joe ai fat faire cestes lettres overtes sealées de mon Seal."

Donéé á Berewyk, etc.

THE HISTORY OF THE CRASTER FAMILY

By SIR EDMUND CRASTER

(Continued from Vol. XXXVII)

John's younger brother, Edmund, who lived on at Craster and saw to the winding-up of his father's personal affairs, also married. His wife, Margaret Steward, came from Stamford near Embleton. His sister Ann was already the wife of a Stamford gentleman-farmer named William Grey. Other sisters also found husbands—Barbara in Nicholas Whitehead of Lesbury Field House, son to her father's business partner, and Mary in John Atkinson of Gateshead, whose family again became united with the Crasters a hundred years later.

In 1692, his father being dead, John Craster set to work in earnest to redeem the family property. After increasing the Stote mortgage from £500 to £800, presumably to allow the clearance of smaller debts, he released—probably for a sum of money down—all claim to Craster South Side, now called Craster South Farm. This had been sold by his great-grandfather, an earlier John Craster, in 1638, to a kinsman, Thomas Forster of Adderstone, and since then, after being owned for a time by our John's uncle, Martin Fenwick of Kenton, had passed to one George Burrell, to whom John now gave release. Then, final stage in these transactions, Alexander Browne once more appeared upon the scene, and bought, for the sum of £1,500, the farm lands that the Crasters had owned for some centuries past in Dunstan and Embleton. Most of the purchase money went to paying off the Stote and Milbanke mortgages; but out of the balance and £200 advanced to him by the accommodating Mr. Browne, John Craster was able at long last to meet his father's obligations as sheriff.

Alexander Browne did not retain his purchase for long. Perhaps he had never intended to do so. The Embleton holding was tenanted by a Quaker family named Christon, who eventually bought their farm lands, and these, when finally enclosed, went to make up the property since known as Christon Bank. Mr. Browne added to his Dunstan purchase by buying up for £1,800 the estate of the ancient but impoverished Wetwang family, and subsequently, in 1705, exchanged Dunstan and other lands with Mr. John Proctor for the properties of Shawdon and Crawley. So it came about that the old tower-house of

Dunstan, which had formed the ancestral home of the Wetwangs, and before them of the Wendouts, acquired the name of Proctor Steads. We shall see presently how the Dunstan lands came to be bought back for Craster in the next generation.

For the time being the family property was reduced to 425 acres, known as Craster North Side. Near its southern border stood the square four-storey tower which an earlier Edmund Craster had built in the fourteenth century, enlarged by the addition, on its eastern side, of a seventeenth century manor house.

John Craster never himself resided in the family home, but spent the earlier years of his married life in his father-in-law's house at Fawside; and, when John Ayton died in 1702, leaving his daughter Mary Craster, a marriage portion of £800, the young couple with their children moved to Chester-le-Street. Craster may have been occupied at the time by a cousin, William Craster, who voted at the Northumbrian parliamentary elections of 1710 and 1715 in virtue of property at Craster. William's father, Daniel, younger brother to old Edmund Craster, had been a Jacobite, and had held a commission in a regiment which the Duke of Newcastle raised to support James II on his tottering throne; and William was of the same party. When Thomas Foster of Bamburgh, M.P. for the county, declared for the Old Pretender in 1715, he only succeeded in enlisting three Northumbrian gentry for the Stuart cause, but William was one of them. He is said to have been taken prisoner and ordered to be executed. However, with the failure of the rising and the execution of its more prominent supporters, the Government and local magistracy did not greatly concern themselves with minor adherents. Though orders were made in Quarter Sessions for the arrest of disaffected persons, a return made three years later reported that William Craster, though suspected to be concerned in the late rebellion and known to reside at Rock, could not be found upon search made for him. There the matter was allowed to rest, and William died in peace in 1725, at Rock Moor House, the farm that Thomas Proctor of Rock had leased to him.

Meanwhile John Craster was bringing up his young family at Chester-le-Street. He had paid off his father's debts and was evidently prospering, for he was able, in 1710, to purchase from Lady Crew and her Jacobite nephew, Thomas Forster, the lease of Shoreswood, a property of about 1,200 acres some three miles east of Norham. Shoreswood was held of the Dean and Chapter of Durham at a low rental but subject to the payment of a heavy fine upon every renewal of the lease. The purchase price was £1,250, of which John was in a position to pay down £700, the vendors taking a mortgage for the residue.

His three sons were clever boys. John, the eldest, was sent up in 1712 to his father's college of Merton, from which he migrated two years later to Corpus, and, having taken his degree and being intended for the legal profession, went on to London in 1716 to study law at Gray's Inn. There were five girls but one had died in infancy, and Barbara, the eldest of the family, died in 1715 when she was twenty-four. Their maiden aunt Sarah Ayton, to whom her father had devised Fawside and various small holdings in the county of Durham, was evidently attached to John Craster and his family. Dying in 1719, she left him all her properties, and he returned to live at Fawside.

Next year the two younger boys left their school at Sedbergh for Oxford. William went to Oriel; Bertram or Bartie (he had been christened Bartholomew at his mother's request, having been born on St. Bartholomew's Day) matriculated at Brasenose, but subsequently left it for Lincoln College. In the autumn of 1720 their sister Isabel found a husband in a neighbouring squire, John Myllet of Whitehill near Chester-le-Street. Family tradition says that their's was a Gretna Green marriage. However that may have been, the ceremony was duly performed at Ebchester.

So John Craster was left at home with his wife and his two youngest daughters. He was failing in health and wrote to his son John outlining his wishes for the disposal of his property. By his will he left Craster and Shoreswood, with the bulk of the Durham properties, to his son John, and to each of his two younger sons an annuity of £80 out of Shoreswood, whither his widow retired with their two unmarried daughters. He died in July 1722 and was buried in "Craster's Porch" in Embleton church.

The two younger sons took their degrees in the following year. William succeeded in obtaining a fellowship at his College and prepared to settle down to the life of an Oxford don. He died in October 1729 at the early age of twenty-eight, and was buried in the University church of St. Mary's.

Less is known of the young Bartie. After taking his degree, he secured readmission to his old college of Brasenose. He had already followed his elder brother John to Gray's Inn, and was called to the Bar in February 1728/9. He was still living and drawing his annuity in 1740. That is the last that is heard of him. Some of his books are in the library at Craster Tower.

John Craster, the eldest son, was away in London, devoting himself to the Bar, to which he had been called six months before his father died. The family mansion at Craster and its home farm were probably let to a kinsman, Daniel Craster, second of that name and elder brother of that William who

went out with Tom Forster in "the Fifteen". Daniel is recorded in 1737 as paying £200 yearly rent for Craster mansion house and demesne. This he farmed in conjunction with Dunstan Hill Farm which he had on lease from his brother-in-law, John Proctor.

In 1728 old Mrs. Craster died and was buried at Norham. The elder unmarried daughter, Elizabeth, became the wife, in the following summer of Christopher Blackett of Haughton, a kinsman of her brother-in-law Myllot, and settled at Newham. Her younger sister Ann remained to be provided for, but the Myllots found a husband for her also. John Myllot's step-mother had re-married Mr. John Wood of Beadnell. A marriage was eventually arranged between her other stepson, Thomas Wood and Ann Craster, and took place in December 1737. In this way the families of Craster and of Wood of Beadnell became for the first time united.

So long as he was a bachelor, John Craster kept his rooms in Gray's Inn, but early in 1727 he too married. His bride, Catherine Villiers, had been living with her brother Henry in the parish of Christ Church, Newgate. Her father, Henry Villiers, who had died twenty years previously, was a former governor of Tynemouth Castle; and the governor's house, which her grandfather, Sir Edward Villiers, built on the castle promontory on the north side of the ruined priory church, had been the Villiers' home during the latter part of the previous century. As nephew to the great Duke of Buckingham and uncle to the notorious Duchess of Cleveland, Sir Edward had been closely connected with the Stuart court in which he had held the post of Knight Marshal. Nor had the Revolution of 1688 reduced the Villiers' fortunes, for two of Sir Edward's daughters, Elizabeth and Ann, had been maids of honour to the Princess Mary in Holland. There William of Orange had fallen in love with Elizabeth and taken her to be his mistress, and had married Ann to his closest friend, William Bentinck, afterwards Earl of Portland. So when the Prince of Orange succeeded to the English Crown as William III, Elizabeth Villiers rose to power with her royal lover. It was perhaps as a result of her influence that her elder brother Edward was created Earl of Jersey. Although, yielding to Queen Mary's dying request, the King eventually sent Elizabeth away from his Court, he found for her at the same time a husband in Lord George Hamilton, one of Marlborough's most distinguished generals; created him Earl of Orkney, and bestowed upon them vast estates, including all King James's lands in Ireland. Out of their riches the Orkneys built themselves a notable residence at Cliveden on the Thames.

Catherine Villiers must have found her aunt Elizabeth a

remarkable personage, for, though she is said to have "squinted like a dragon", the great Dean Swift, no mean judge of intelligence, described her as the wisest woman he ever knew. Aunt Mary was also still living and was Dowager Lady Inchiquin. Aunt Barbara who was Lady Fitzharding, and Aunt Henrietta, Countess of Breadalbane, had both died some years before Catherine married, but their children, her cousins, were her friends. Evidently she had the entry into good society. Yet she was not possessed of any fortune, her resources being apparently limited to a life annuity of £40 out of Tynemouth lighthouse dues and to a pension of £200 from Queen Anne which she shared with her sisters Barbara and Frances, and which had been vested in their aunt Orkney for their joint use.

The John Crasters set up house in Tooke's Court, opening out of Furnival Street off Holborn, and Lord Orkney provided them with a country home, then named Park Gate House but now Taplow Lodge, on Taplow Common, opposite the gates of Cliveden.

It was in Tooke's Court that John and Catherine had their first child born to them; a little girl named Mary after her Craster grandmother, who stood godmother to her and subsequently left her a legacy of £50. Two boys followed—John and then Edmund; but little Edmund was a sickly child and died when he was ten months old. Then came George, born in December 1734, and named after his two godfathers, Lord Orkney and George Granville, Lord Landsdowne, who had both married into the Villiers family. Nine months before George was born, his sister Mary had died at Taplow at the age of seven. His elder brother John died when he too was seven years old, and was buried at Taplow alongside his sister. Another little girl had been born a month earlier and named Frances after her godmother, Lord Orkney's younger daughter, Lady Frances Saunderson, who subsequently became Lady Scarborough. Of the five children, George and Frances alone were left.

After his mother's death in 1728, John Craster improved the family residence at Shoreswood, then called Moor Hall but now known as Shoreswood Hall, keeping it and some 300 acres in hand as a demesne farm and staying here on his visits to the North. A small colliery near to it was working at least as early as 1736. The remainder of the Shoreswood estate was let as a farm of a thousand acres. The Craster estates in Northumberland and Durham were in 1737 reckoned by their owner as totalling 2,090 acres and as yielding a net rent of £680 13s. 9d.

By this time John Craster had moved out of Tooke's Court into better quarters in Carey Street at the back of the present Law Courts. In 1742 he was made a Bencher of his Inn, and he

continued to practise at the Bar at least up to 1747. But he spent much time at Taplow, where he had his brother-in-law, Henry Villiers, as a neighbour. As Lord Orkney's executor he had access to the old general's papers at Cliveden, and there still remain at Craster copies which he made of a letter written to Orkney by Alexander Pope, and of Orkney's own letters describing the principal engagements in Marlborough's wars—Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet. Here at Taplow his ten-year-old girl, Frances, died in 1748. His one remaining child, George, was by now an oppidan at Eton.

A little later he left Carey Street for No. 40, Lincoln's Inn Fields. It would be interesting to know more of the acquaintance—though it may have been only slight—which John Craster struck up at this time with Samuel Johnson, then still working away upon his *Dictionary*, or of the reasons that led Johnson's friend, the novelist Samuel Richardson, to send to Craster a presentation copy of *Sir Charles Grandison*. John Craster certainly had literary tastes and these are evinced by the books which he began collecting when still an undergraduate. After he married he started to buy all the current literature which he wished to read, and so he amassed a respectable gentleman's library which remains, reasonably intact, at Craster. His taste was sound and representative of his time and class. For Pope he had a particular enthusiasm. Already in his Oxford days he had acquired a taste of genealogy, and this led him to pursue researches, from the time he entered into his property, into the history of his own family. So he left behind him a useful and fairly accurate account of his descent, based on public records, wills in the Durham probate registry, and deeds in his possession.

That he was a successful lawyer, with good capacity for business, is plain from his career. John Craster reveals himself, in an account which he has left of a three-day ride through Lincolnshire to Scarborough, as a man of wit and cultivation, with tags of Horace at his command, and as of an enquiring disposition with a special interest in heraldry and architecture.

Through the help of his wife's kinsman, Thomas Villiers, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and with the approval of Carteret, Earl Granville, John Craster was elected member, in 1754, for Lord Weymouth's pocket-borough of Weobley in Herefordshire, and so obtained a seat in Parliament. He had stipulated that his election expenses should not exceed £800. He sat in the House of Commons through the remainder of Newcastle's sole ministry and throughout the coalition ministry of Newcastle and Pitt.

Son George was now a young man of twenty and, his Eton days being over, was entered in the same year at Gray's Inn,

where his father was a Benchers; not with any intention, it may be presumed, of practising at the Bar, but in order to acquire such knowledge of the law as befitted a future landowner. By way of further completing his education John Craster gave him £100 to go to France. Two years later the indulgent father bought his son a commission in the Royal Troop of Horse Guards. It cost him £2,000 which was in part met by increasing the mortgage on Shoreswood from £2,000 to £3,200.

The house numbered 46 Lincoln's Inn Fields, was occupied by a widowed lady, Mrs. Sharpe, a Cartwright by birth (though not of the Aynho line), and relict of Mr. John Sharpe, Solicitor of the Treasury and M.P. for the notorious rotten borough of Callington. She had a daughter named Olive. The young people at numbers 40 and 46 became acquainted. Both were good-looking though of sallow complexion and indifferent constitution. He had his Guards' uniform and she was said to have a fortune of £30,000. On 3rd February, 1757, George and Olive were married in the neighbouring church of St. Clement Dane's

It was no runaway match. John Craster, as has been observed was a lawyer, and the ample marriage settlement concluded on the day before the wedding had for its trustees Lord Jersey and no less a person than the Lord Chancellor, the eminent Lord Macclesfield. The bride appears to have received a jointure of £10,000, with a further £10,000 on her mother's death. She also brought into settlement £8,000, a sum lent out on mortgage, and which it was intended should be invested in the purchase of lands as near as convenient to the manor of Craster. John Craster cherished, it seems, the idea of rounding off the family estate by buying back Craster South Farm. On his part he gave his son an annuity of £400 during his own lifetime and the reversion, on his death, of his estates in Northumberland and Durham.

A memorandum which he drew up preparatory to the settlement gives particulars as to the state of his properties. The family house at Craster is there stated to be ruinous and sadly in need of repair. Old Daniel Craster had given up his lease, and the house was now let, with the demesne farm and Craster West Farm, for £250 to Mr. Marmaduke Grey, ancestor of the Bacon Greys of Styford. Dunstan Hill Farm was let for £120. The main part of the Shoreswood estate was let at £260; the colliery there was stated to bring in on the average £250 a year; and Shoreswood Hall, where John Craster resided when in the north, was estimated as having a yearly value of £100. Three Durham copyhold farms with a colliery wayleave brought in £232. Rents in all totalled £1,324 16s. They had nearly

doubled in the space of twenty years; such was the effect of agricultural improvements.

Mrs. Sharpe had the young couple to live with her until she died in 1760. Olive and her brother then divided the Sharpe family silver between them. She and George bought themselves a glass coach for £140, which John Craster promised to pay for but did not. George's mother ordered £390 worth of jewellery for her daughter-in-law, for which John Craster also undertook to pay; but the jeweller, for all his insistent demands, never received payment until George produced the money himself. There seems to have been some bickering between father and son.

The fact is that other matters were beginning to engage the old lawyer's attention. Some six weeks before his son married, an aged widow died in Upper Brook Street, childless and intestate. Her name was Dame Dorothy Windsor. She was the last surviving child of that Sir Richard Stote who had helped to make John Craster's grandfather sheriff of Northumberland in Charles II's reign, and whose mother Jane Bewick, had for her grandfather an Edmund Craster who had owned Craster in the days of Elizabeth. So she was third cousin once removed to John. What was also much to the point, she owned large and profitable estates in the south of Northumberland. These comprised 1,759 acres in Kirkheaton (including Kirkheaton Hall and a landsale colliery), 1,056 in Long Benton, 296 in Willington, and 89 acres in Jesmond. John's genealogical researches gave prospect of yielding a substantial dividend. He asserted his claim to be Dame Dorothy's next-of-kin and heir.

As was to be expected, there were rival claimants. Sir Robert Bewicke of Close House also set up to be next-of-kin and heir-at-law; while the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Carlisle and Sir William Blackett all asserted that there were no heirs at all and claimed various portions of the estates as escheats. More than one suit was started in the Court of Exchequer, and legal proceedings dragged on for three years, threatening to involve the litigants in considerable expense. John Craster thought it wise to come to terms with Sir Robert Bewicke and make common cause with him against the other parties. They agreed to act in concert and to share expenses and benefits. Events justified the Craster-Bewicke partnership. Judgment was given in their favour, and they entered into the coveted estates as tenants in common.

George and Olive set out in the autumn of 1760 and returned to England in the summer of 1763, after their grand tour of Europe. Old John Craster was failing in health. Two years earlier he had written to inform Lord Weymouth of his intention to give up his seat in Parliament at the forthcoming election.

"The bustle of life", he wrote, "is over for me, for daily admonitions tell me it is time to retire." In June 1763 he drafted his will. In December he was lying ill at Taplow. His will was at last engrossed and signed on Christmas Eve, and on the last night of the old year he died.

Under the settlement made upon George and Olive's marriage, Craster and Dunstan Hill, Shoreswood and the principal Durham farms had been settled, along with Olive's £8,000, upon George and his male issue, subject to John's life interest. But John had reserved to himself the revision, that is the right to dispose of these properties in the event of his son having no male issue; and as yet there were no children. He had also acquired, since the settlement was made, an undivided moiety of Dame Dorothy Windsor's estates, and of this he had free disposal. By his will he settled the Windsor estates upon his son in tailmale, and created an entail under which all the settled properties should pass, in the event of his son leaving no male issue, to the testator's second cousin, Daniel Craster of Preston, only son of that other Daniel, who had tenanted Craster twenty-five years before. He made his wife sole executor and left her an annuity of £100, together with his plate and pictures, the furniture of his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the chariot and horses in his London stables, and all his other personal effects. There were also annuities of £50 each to his two sisters, Isabell Myllot and Ann Wood; and he empowered his son to raise £1,000 for distribution among his nephews and nieces. A life interest in two small Durham farms was given to George Empson, an illegitimate son of the testator's father.

George Craster had no wish to live on at Taplow, and his wife succeeded in letting Park Gate House to Stephen Fox, Lord Holland's son and elder brother to Charles James Fox.

The family mansion at Craster had fallen vacant, for Marmaduke Grey had died there in October 1764, and his widow had given up the house and farm. In the following September George's cousin, lame, skittish Betty Wood, wrote to her brother from her aunt Mylott's at Chester-le-Street: "We have had Mr. and Mrs. Craster here twice. They have left Shoreswood entirely and gone to live at Craster, but he talks of building a house at Fawside which is in this neighbourhood, for, upon consulting lawyers, he finds he has the right to dispose of all the estates in this country, owing to his father neglecting to take surrenders out of the court at Durham to his will, which makes it of no effect as to these estates." Nevertheless, second thoughts prevailed. In February 1767 Betty Wood reported that George and Olive had made a very long stay at Craster that summer and had only just set off for London. They had decided by this time to rebuild, or rather to add on a square

Georgian block of rooms to the south side of the tower, converting the earlier house to use as offices and servants' quarters. From George's note made in April 1770, of "things to order for the finishing of Craster", it appears that the new work was by that time practically complete.

George did little to increase his fathers' library, though he appreciated it sufficiently to leave it by will as an heirloom to accompany the Craster estate. His improvements at Craster included the construction of a conservatory near the house and the making of the present brick-walled garden at some little distance from it.

Sailing furnished him with another pastime. He shot and he fished; yet, despite of this, George, with all his waistcoats, his town-bred manners, and that air of arrogant superiority that lives on in Battoni's portrait, was not wholly popular with his county neighbours. Betty Wood writes of how Mr. Bacon of Adderstone "fell upon my cousin C. and took him to pieces very genteely. Dixon seemed very uneasy for fear he should go to great lengths, as I was present, and gave him the broadest hints that I was a relation; but the other would not hold his tongue."

We are not told what the neighbours thought of Olive. For all her vivacity her health was causing alarm. She and her husband went in March 1769 to Bristol to take the waters, after spending the later summer months at Craster they decided to winter abroad, and went in October to Paris. They had been there for little more than six weeks when Olive died.

George determined that his wife should be buried, with due pomp, in the new family vault which he had made in Embleton church. So her body was brought to England and taken north from London in a coach drawn by six horses. A black velvet pall covered the coffin. Decked with black ostrich feathers and accompanied by horsemen and postillions in funeral cloaks and wearing crêpe hatbands, the hearse was driven at walking pace along the Great North Road and arrived, after twenty-four days, at Craster, whence the coffin was taken to Embleton for interment. The total expenses of the journey came to £288 18s. Nor was this the whole outlay of the funeral. There were mourning rings, twenty-two in number and costing a guinea each, to be distributed among friends and relations. Superior tokens were reserved for Sir Richard Lyttelton and his wife the Duchess. Their rings, costing eleven guineas each, were set with brilliants.

There had been no children of the marriage. Still, George was only thirty-five when his wife died, and there was time for him to marry again. He had certainly wanted to found a family, and he had drafted a petition to His Majesty asking for the conferment of a title. But for the moment his thoughts turned again

to Paris. It was going to be gay there the following summer, for the marriage of the young Dauphin, afterwards Louis XVI, to Marie Antoinette had been fixed for 17th May 1770. George resolved to see what he could; and so to Paris he went, accompanied by his friend Mr. Aynsley; and, after the festivities at Versailles were over sat down to send a rather dull account of them home.

After the usual autumn visit to Craster, he was back again in Paris in October. He may even have thought of settling there, for in the following January (1771) he took himself a house on the Boulevards. But his health, never good, was beginning to fail. In May he fell ill, and, when he passed through London in July on his way to Craster, he made his will. Though able to attend Kelso races in September, he was a sick man, never to leave his north-country home again.

He had no particular affection for the Daniel Crasters. On the other hand he liked his Wood cousins at Beadnell. George determined to leave them what he could. But his father had so tied up the estates by the settlement he made on George's marriage and by his subsequent will that Daniel Craster was bound to inherit. It was only through the flaw of which we have already spoken that George was able to dispose of the house at Taplow and the copyhold lands in the county of Durham. These he devised to his mother for life; then to his aunt Wood, and finally to her elder son John. He could not touch the rest of the Craster properties unless Daniel should leave no male heirs, and, as there were already four sons, that contingency must have seemed a remote one. Nevertheless he provided by his will that, in such an event, his cousin John Wood or his male issue should inherit. And this actually came to pass.

At the beginning of March George wrote out his final instructions to his executor. On 9th May 1772, he died; and three days later he was interred, "in a grand manner" according to the local press, by Olive's side in the family vault at Embleton.

He was succeeded at Craster by his cousin. Daniel Craster moved in from Preston which had been his home for near twenty years past, and brought with him his wife, his four sons, his four daughters, and his old father, now turned ninety, a hale old man with rugged features, who had outlived three wives and of whom the tale goes that he would say, as he mounted his ancient nag, "Here we go a hundred and twenty years together." Of the rest of the family the story is soon told. George's mother returned from Tonbridge to London. She had a house there in Nassau Street, off Soho Square, as well as apartments in Windsor Castle, for George III had not as yet made Windsor

his residence, and rooms there were granted by royal favour. She survived her son by a bare five months and was buried in Taplow church, near to the spot where her husband and their young children were lying. Aunt Myllof finally left Chester-le-Street and came to live with the Woods at Beadnell, where she died in 1781, leaving a chalice to the village church and a ghost to haunt the Hall. John Craster's last surviving sister, Anne Wood, lived on until 1796, dying at the ripe age of eighty-seven at Netherby, the home of her married daughter, Katherine Senhouse. Her son John married another Anne Craster, Daniel's pretty daughter, and in 1838 their elder son, Thomas Wood, succeeded under George Craster's will to the estates and name of Craster.

(To be concluded)

DUNGLASS CHURCH

By. A. D. S. MacDONALD

Dunglass church belongs to the Late Pointed period of Gothic architecture. The masonry is almost intact, except for damages done in the 18th century, when the church was turned into stabling and other farm building. The south transept is the burial vault of the Halls of Dunglass.

The building is cruciform and consists of a nave 40 ft. long and 20 ft. wide internally; a choir about 33 ft. long and 18 ft. wide; and north and south transepts, each about $21\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long and 14 ft. wide. The total internal length of the church is 90 ft. 8 in., and the total length of transept from north to south is 63 ft. There is a sacristy on the north side of the choir, from which it enters by a low centred arch, pointed and splayed.

The building is roofed throughout, except for the tower over the crossing, with a continuous pointed barrel vault over each arm of the cross (this was the form commonly practised in Scotland in the 15th century, both in churches and castles), with a roof of heavy overlapping stone slabs resting on the outside of the arch. Thus no timber was used in the construction of the walls and roof.

The tower was divided internally into three stages and the corbels for supporting the floor beams still remain. In the north side of the west wall of the tower, a door opens into the nave at a high level: it was probably reached by wooden steps.

The plan of the tower piers is peculiar; the two west piers stand out from the angle of the walls of the nave and transept, to which they are attached by a strip of masonry only 9-10 in. thick. The tower is thus considerably off the centre of the

transept, and is much less in breadth than the limbs of the cross. The two east piers project from the angle into the choir, but not so as to diminish the width of the transept. It is difficult to account for the very unusual and eccentric position of the tower supports. Possibly the choir and tower were built first, and when the nave and transepts were erected, it was thought desirable to make them wider than first intended. The piers of the crossing are simply splayed and notched on the inner diagonal faces, and are all alike; but the arch faces or mouldings vary, those of the nave and transepts corresponding with the piers, while the choir arch is moulded on both faces with shallow mouldings. The former arches spring from moulded caps, the latter from caps carved and moulded. The splayed base of the piers is omitted on the chancel side.

The windows in the end walls of the nave, choir and transepts are all pointed and originally were filled with tracery. The east wall under the window sill was cut out to allow of passage to farm vehicles. Below the end windows of the transept and sacristy are tomb recesses, probably ornamented with cusping now cut away. The ornamental brackets for supporting these enrichments have label terminations of angels. One (in the sacristy) plays on a stringed instrument. The side windows of the church have segmented scansion arches and double lights, with massive tracery. The north and south doorways of the nave are round arched, with moulded jambs. The other doorways are plain, with lintels.

The sedilia in the south wall near the east end is very beautiful and fairly well preserved. It contains the usual three seats, indicated by three ogee crocketed arch-heads. These arches rest on carved capitals at each end, and the intermediate ones on corbels supported by angels, one holding a shield and the other playing on a viol. Between the sedilia and the east wall and below the sill of the window there has been a piscina, now cut away. It was apparently supported by a shaft from the floor. Adjoining this, in the east wall, is a projecting corbel with a shield on the face. This was probably meant either to support a light or a figure in connection with the altar.

There are consecration crosses on the side walls in the sacristy and in the choir.

There is doubt as to the founder and date of the church. Possibly it was Sir Thomas Home, in the reign of Robert III (1390-1406). He married Nicola Pepdie, who brought him the lordship of Dunglass, and their arms adjoin the north transept window.

This note is based on MacGibbon and Ross, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, 1896: article on Dunglass church in Vol. III.

COLDINGHAM PRIORY EXCAVATIONS VIII

T. D. THOMSON, M.A., F.S.A.SCOT.

The Club's own operations were almost entirely confined to the large drain noted in the previous report. The cover slabs were all lifted; these included three running under the line of the south wall of Edgar's Walls, massive stones which when turned over proved to have been channelled on their under sides. At this point the drain was found to be lined with a nine-foot-long sheet of lead shaped to the drain.

Disappointingly, nothing was found in this drain save mud and a few fragments of the usual pottery; the lifting of a few of the lining stones was also unproductive. The examination of the remainder awaits the 1973 season, but it would seem at present that they had come from building debris considerably later than 1216 and that the drain may have been cut down into the Norman level long after that was out of use; there was no sign of specific disturbance of the mediaeval level immediately above the drain.

Following upon Mr. Noble's report on the work at the Priors' tombs west of the present Church, the Department of the Environment's Conservation Section undertook the reinterment of Prior Radulphus' remains. This involved examination of the other tomb, that of Prior Aernaldus, which turned out to be 18 in. nearer the post-1850 surface than his neighbour's, although he died a year before the latter. This, and the fact that both tombs would have effectually obstructed the western entrance to the Old Church, suggests that the Priors may have been reinterred in their present position in what would have been the crossing of the thirteenth-century Church. It was found that Aernaldus' remains—which were inconsiderable—were lying facing west, which may have been done after examination in the 1850s; they were reverently reorientated.

The completion of this work enabled the consolidation of the Norman walls in this area to be finished, once again by Mr. Cramond, who was also able to carry out further repairs to Edgar's Walls; these operations were again financed by the County Council.

A further improvement was the opening up of the doorway leading from the churchyard into the South Transept at its south-west corner, which had been blocked by a very dilapidated tombstone in memory of William Crow of Netherbyres, who was responsible for the building of the first harbour works at Eyemouth in the eighteenth century.

Towards the end of the year proposals were submitted, by request, to the County Council for the comprehensive conservation and laying-out of the Priory precincts so far as these are in the Council's ownership. These have not yet been decided upon, but, to trespass a little into 1973, the Council financed a week's hard work at Easter by a party from the Conservation Corps, who did an excellent job in removing rubbish and overburden from the unexcavated part of Edgar's Walls and the passage between the Walls and the modern boundary wall south of the Cloisters, leaving these areas free for more skilled examination. They worked under the eye of Mr. Noble and were able to absorb a good deal of knowledge through a happy association with the party from London.

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Last year it was reported (HBNC XXXIX, 18 and plate) that a coin found in the area of the Priors' tombs at Coldingham Priory had been identified at the British Museum as a *denier* of Guy de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem (1186-1192). Since then a number of scientific tests have been carried out, and doubt has arisen as to the length of time that this coin had been in the position in which it was found. It is hoped that a full report on the findings may be published in the next Part of this History.

T.D.T.

OLDHAMSTOCKS CHURCH

By the Rev. D. F. S. DICK, M.C., T.D., B.D.

An Address given in Oldhamstocks Church, on 11th May, 1972.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

It gives me great pleasure to extend to you a very cordial welcome to the parish, village and church of Oldhamstocks. I have been asked to speak about the church, which has recently been included in the Secretary of State's list of buildings of special architectural or historic interest. At the outset I should make it clear—and so save you from discovering for yourselves—that I am not an authority either on Scottish history or architecture, as some of you may be. I can say with Socrates that "what I don't know, I don't even think I know", but I am glad to share with you such information as I possess. In due course it is hoped to produce a short history of the kirk in Oldhamstocks and a list of its ministers. Last year Miss Sheila M. Petrie submitted a project to Edinburgh University on the social history of the parish, which yielded some information about the church.

There was a church here sometime before 1127. In that year Adulph, priest of Oldhamstocks, witnessed a charter (which has been preserved) by Robert, Bishop of St. Andrew's, in favour of the monks of St. Cuthbert at Coldingham. In October 1242 the church was consecrated by David, Bishop of St. Andrew's, with St. Michael as its patron saint. The name of the first known priest appears to me to be Anglo-Saxon and I am inclined to believe that the derivation of the name Oldhamstocks should be sought there and not in Gaelic. If this is so, "Ald ham stoc" would mean "old home or dwelling-place."

The list of ministers is still incomplete but it is known that in 1450 Patrick Sinclair was rector of Oldhamstocks. At this time and for another century or two, Oldhamstocks, which was a considerably larger parish than it is now, was quite a wealthy incumbency. It was not attached to, or dependent upon, any monastic establishment, and indeed support for other foundations was diverted from it. Among others to benefit was the interesting but unfortunate and unsuccessful experiment of the collegiate church of Dunglass, which obtained from Oldhamstocks a prebend, a portion of land or tithe, from which the staff or one of the staff was supported. This was part of a process which in the 15th century denuded the parishes of their resources, leading to their neglect and eventually making the Reformation inevitable.

However, even after the Reformation, Oldhamstocks was not by any standard a poor parish. In the Register of Ministers and Readers in the year 1574, under the heading "Aldhamstockis, Colbranspeth, Aldcammos", we find that David Home, minister ("payand his own reidare") had a stipend of £186 13s.-4d. His reader Alexander Lawder had a miserable pittance of £20 os. od., while Thomas Harlaw, "reidare at Colbranispath," and John Wood, "reidare at Aldcammos," each had £16 plus kirk lands. At that time there were 289 ministers and 988 parishes, of which 715 had "reidares." Of the ministers only nine had a higher stipend than Oldhamstocks and of all the dioceses in Scotland the Diocese of Merse and Lothian had the highest valuation. (Miscellany of the Wodrow Society, Vol. I).

Today, as a result of the diversion of the patrimony of the Kirk to other beneficiaries, outside and inside the church, and of the movement of population, Oldhamstocks is dependent on its linking with Cockburnspath, which had been part of the Parish of Oldhamstocks till it became an independent *quoad omnia* parish in 1609.

I now turn to the architectural and historic interest of this building. Of the earliest building or buildings on the site only some traces of the ground course can be seen. Originally the church was built east and west, with the altar in front of the present chancel which was originally a separate burial vault or burial aisle, but never used as such. It was a later addition, separate from the church, with the entrance on the south side. It was built probably in the 16th or early 17th century.

On the apex of the south-west corner, there is a remarkable 16th century sundial, such as is found also on the south-west buttress at Cockburnspath. The latter is illustrated in *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, and it appears that these two are the only known examples of this type of sundial. They had a gnomon used for the morning hours while the piece of stone which jutted out on the west side was used as the gnomon of a secondary dial for the afternoon hours.

The first major extension and renovation took place in 1701. While the work was in progress the congregation worshipped in a barn belonging to the Lady of Blackcastle, which then stood in the field on the other side of the road, due north of the church. In 1684 Sir Patrick Hepburn of Blackcastle was fined £200 sterling by the Council, which found him guilty of the high crime of "resetting, conversing with and harbouring a declared rebel" in the person of Mr. Gabriel Sempill, who was captured by a party of guards in his house at Oldhamstocks. Mr. Sempill, a nephew of Sir Patrick, was an "outed" covenanting Presbyterian minister, who had carried on part of his ministry

at Ford as well as at various places in Scotland.

The renovation of 1701 transformed the church into the other kind of interior order, with the congregation round a central pulpit in the centre of the west wall, flanked by doors on either side. The congregation sat round the pulpit, the communion table and the font. It is interesting that in some of the larger C. of E. and R.C. churches an interior re-ordering to make this possible is being carried out to-day. It was at this time that the aisle to the north (known locally as the wing) was added, including a gallery of which the supporting pillars can still be seen. The belfry and bell were a later gift of the Broadwood family, for which the heritors recorded their appreciation in the Heritor's Minute Book, in 1854. Originally the family had been wrights in Oldhamstocks, and the grave of the last wright is marked by a stone in the kirkyard. John Broadwood (1732-1812) left for London, where he entered the employment of Burkhardt Tschudi, the harpsichord maker, becoming in 1782 sole proprietor of the firm which was to be so famous in the history of the pianoforte. It is said that the beautiful tone of the bell is due to the amount of silver which it was stipulated should be included in the metal from which it was cast.

The other scheduled building is the Watch House, which was donated by Mrs. Moore in 1826, three years before Burke was hanged. Agnes Moore was the third wife of the Reverend Robert Moore, minister of Oldhamstocks from 1797 to 1843. The inscription above the door is taken from Jeremiah xxxi.40: "And the whole valley of dead bodies and of ashes shall be holy unto the Lord; it shall not be plucked up or thrown down for ever." Fear of the body-snatchers is also indicated by heavy flat-topped stones in the kirkyard.

The last major reconstruction was undertaken in 1920 by the Rev. Bryce Gordon, who did much of the work with his own hands. The original interior order was resumed and the burial vault opened up to form a chancel. It is appropriate that his imaginative reconstruction should be commemorated by a brass plate on the wall. About ten years ago, during the ministry of the Rev. J. W. M. Cameron, the plaster was removed from the walls, where it was discoloured by damp, to reveal the warm-coloured stone, and the floor, roof and interior furnishings were renewed. Two ladies who then lived in Oldhamstocks House, which had been the manse (built in 1677), took a great interest in this renovation and did much to make it possible—Mrs. Fleming, a minister's widow, and Mrs. Marshall. The latter had a family connection with the well-known firm of church furnishers, Whytock & Reid, and the pulpit, a beautiful example of modern carving, was executed by Miss Goodwin, a member of their staff.

I should also draw your attention to the heraldic crests which you would notice on the outside wall of the chancel as you approached the church. These were found among the ruins of Blackcastle by Thomas Mitchell, minister of Oldhamstocks 1843-76, and placed on the gable-end of the chancel for preservation. The initials are those of Thomas Hepburn, minister of Oldhamstocks 1578-85, and of his wife Margaret Sinclair, and are dated 1581. On the right is the heraldic crest of the Hepburns, and on the left that of the Patersons of Bannockburn to whom Margaret Sinclair was related. The Hepburn motto inscribed above is "*I keep traist*".

This brings us to the most glorious—or notorious—historical interest of the church. The patronage of the church was vested in the Lords of Blackcastle, the Hepburn family, related to the Bothwell Hepburns of Hailes Castle. This explains why so many of the ministers of the parish before and after the Reformation were Hepburns or relatives of Hepburns. From 1562 until 1672, five out of the nine ministers were Hepburns. It is recorded that, at the first General Assembly of the reformed Church of Scotland, "among others whilk are thought apt and able, by the ministers and commissioners aforesaid, to minister," there were three Hepburns, one of whom Thomas Hepburn, was of Oldhamstocks. It may be that he was the priest at Oldhamstocks. His relatives had certainly served in that capacity. Most of the priests who entered the ministry of the reformed church were readers for a time and were then accepted as ministers. But some of them, like John Knox, became ministers without any such probationary period, and this may have been the case with Thomas Hepburn, though this is not yet established.

In 1567 this Thomas Hepburn, the parson of Oldhamstocks, is said to have been in Edinburgh, in the entourage of Bothwell Hepburn, the Lord of Hailes, at the time of the explosion at Kirk o' Fields and the murder of Darnley. (Antonia Fraser: *Mary Queen of Scots*). In the same year, at the 16th General Assembly, Mr. John Craig, minister in Edinburgh, "at the ordinances of the Assemblie presented in writ his proceedings, touching the proclaiming of bannes betwixt the queen and the Erle Bothwell". "First" he said in explanation, "being required of Mr. Thomas Hepburne, in the queen's name to proclaim her with the Lord Bothwell, I plainly refused because I had not her hand-writt and also because of the constant bruit that the Lord hath both ravished her and keeped her in captivitie [i.e. at Dunbar]. Upon Wednesday next, the Justice clerk brought me a writing subscribed with her hand, bearing effect that she was neither ravished not yet detained in captivity and therefore

charged me to proclaim." He further explains that if it was a bad marriage, as he believed, the more publicity it got beforehand the better (Calderwood's *History*, Vol. II). Referring to the mysterious messenger sent by Bothwell to the Castle of Edinburgh to obtain the silver casket which had been in the possession of the King of France and was then in the custody of Sir James Balfour, Governor of the Castle, Calderwood writes: "I find in a certain manuscript that the messenger was Mr. Thomas Hepburn, Parson of Aldhamstocks." Sir James Balfour handed over the casket with the letters of the queen, which Bothwell wanted in his own defence, but at the same time he told some of the nobles what he had done, and the messenger was intercepted and relieved of his dangerous and precious burden. It is also said that the parson was present among the party who rescued Mary Queen of Scots from Lochleven, and that this explains why he found himself in a difficult position later, but this is not yet certain, as far as my information goes. It is certain, however, and not entirely surprising, that he was at one time in trouble with the General Assembly on a charge of heresy, although the Assembly had previously commissioned him, along with several other ministers, "to preach in the unplanted kirks of the Merce, their moneth by course". When he appeared before the Assembly in 1576, he professed himself willing to be shown the error of his opinions, and was suspended from preaching only for a short time (Row's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*).

It is not part of my brief, nor is there time, to speak about the parish, which is described as it was in the eighteenth century by John Cochran, minister of Oldhamstocks, 1787-97, in Sinclair's *Statistical Account*. Let me just refer to the fact that this year is the tercentenary of the Act of the Parliament of Scotland, in the reign of Charles II, permitting, in response to a supplication "putit to the King's Majestie and Estates of Parliament be John Earle of Tweddale," "two frie fairs yearly to be keiped and holden at the said Toune of Auldhamstocks, ane upon the third Tuesday of Junij and ane other upon the third Tuesday of October, yearly, in all time coming; together with ane weekly mercat, to be kept thereat upon Tuesday, for buying and selling horse, nolt, sheep, meill, malt and all sort of grane, cloath, linning, and woolen, and all sort of merchandise and other commodities, useful for the country, with power to the said Earle of Tweddale, and his foresaids and such as they shall appoint to collect and uptake the tolls, customs, duties and casualities belonging to the said two yearly fairs and weekly mercats. And to enjoy all other freedoms, liberties and privileges and immunities sicklike and as frielie as any other has done in like cases." (Acts of the Parliament of Scotland 1670-80. Acta Parliamentorum Caroli II, A.D. 1672, Number 9: 10th July 1672).

THE UNION CANAL

By B. C. SKINNER

In *The Scotsman* of 7th March, 1818, there appeared the following notice:

We have great pleasure in announcing that on Tuesday, after the adjournment of the General Meeting of the Union Canal Company, the Committee of Management with many of the proprietors proceeded to the West end of Fountainbridge, the spot fixed on for the basin, where they were met by the engineer and contractors, and after an appropriate and impressive prayer by the Rev. David Dickson, junior, Mr. Downie of Appin, president of the Company, dug the first spadeful in this extensive work.

The Union Canal, which came into use in May, 1822, ran from Port Hopetoun to Port Downie at Lock 16 on the Forth-Clyde Canal, a distance of $31\frac{1}{2}$ miles. It was five feet deep, thirty-seven feet wide, and was entirely level except for the final half-mile at the west end, which contained eleven locks. Its route touched at Slateford, Ratho, Broxburn, Winchburgh, Philpstoun, Linlithgow, and Falkirk. Of this original length, approximately a quarter-mile has disappeared at the east end, and a half-mile at the west end.

The construction of the canal followed an Act of Parliament of 1817, itself the outcome of a twenty-five year debate on the choice of route. In this debate, largely carried on by pamphlet war, the main points at issue were:

- (1) *The relative costs of each line*, influenced by the amounts of lockage required, the compensation value of land to be purchased, and the mineral advantages of land passed through. (The third aspect led to the making of valuable mineral surveys).
- (2) *The ultimate purpose of the canal*—whether it should be primarily a coal-canal, or a feeder to the Forth-Clyde Canal, or a rival to the Forth-Clyde Canal.

When finally constructed, it was essentially as a feeder to the Forth-Clyde Canal, in its brief independent life before take-over by the Edinburgh-Glasgow Railway Company in 1849. It carried:

- (1) *Coal* from the Falkirk area to Edinburgh;
- (2) *Building ware, slate, timber and lime* to Edinburgh;
- (3) *Manure* from Edinburgh to the country districts; and
- (4) *General merchandise and passengers* in both directions.

For the carriage of goods, charges per ton/mile were:
Stone, coal, building material, manure—Twopence;
Timber—Threepence;
General merchandise—Fourpence.

Wharf or basin dues were payable in addition.

For passengers, the fares to Glasgow were initially seven shillings (cabin), and five shillings (steorage), each of these amounts being later reduced by one shilling. (A threepenny omnibus was available from Princes Street to Port Hopetoun). In 1832, 33,692 passengers were carried, and by 1835 the number had risen to 127,292.

From a study of the surviving documents, especially those in the Institute of Civil Engineers in London, one can form an unusually detailed picture of the physical process of canal construction. The supervising engineer was Hugh Baird of Kelvinhead, and periodic inspections were made by Thomas Telford. Between the passing of the Act in June, 1817, and the cutting of the first turf in March, 1818, contractors were engaged and briefed, and a labour force recruited.

The proposed line was divided into 33 lots, each comprising one or two miles of canal, or one of the aqueducts. The lots were tendered, and in the event were divided almost equally among six major contractors. With each lot, a detailed description of the work to be done was issued, covering not only the cutting or embanking to be carried out, but also the methods of disposal of surplus rock and soil, the provision of service roadways, bridges, culverts and other structures.

In these, reference is made to Standard Specifications drawn up for the general governance of all works on the canal, e.g. Specification No. 1—for Cutting, Embanking, Lining, Puddling and Fencing—shows the Cut to be 22 feet wide at the bottom, 37 feet at the water surface (i.e. depth of five feet), and 40 feet at the top of the bank, and the towpath to be nine feet wide.

The contractors tended to be men with earlier experience in canal construction. Hugh McIntosh of Bloomsbury, responsible for the Edinburgh-Almond section, had previously worked on the Lancaster, Kennet-Avon and Croydon canals, while the firm of Hughes & Williams had been associated with Thomas Telford in the construction of the Caledonian Canal. The estimates given by McIntosh included £7,390 for the Edinburgh basins, £38,159 for ten miles of canal and twelve bridges, and £12,800 for the Slateford Aqueduct. Average costs included £2,500 for excavating and finishing one mile of canal, and £325 for constructing a bridge 67 feet long with a twelve-foot roadway. The overall final cost was approximately £600,000.

The labour force required for canal construction was very large—a fact illustrated by the engagement (luckily abortive) at Winchburgh on 21st November, 1818, between 750 Irish navvies and a similar number of Highlanders. This is a reminder of the principal sources of labour supply—the poorest classes of Irish labourers (advertisements for workers on the Union Canal were appearing in Londonderry papers from 1817 onwards), and evicted crofters from the north of Scotland. It is possibly significant that Mr. John Downie, president of the canal company, himself owned a sheepwalk in Appin.

This meant a considerable disturbance to the country districts of Midlothian and West Lothian, and many Irish settled permanently in the area: in 1842 the minister of Ratho wrote, "Those that remain have come under the humanifying influence of good neighbourhood and Protestant institutions."

Possibly the most striking features of the Union Canal are its three major aqueducts—spanning the Avon, Almond, and Water of Leith. These range in height from 86 feet (the first) to 65 feet (the last). The water on all three was carried in cast-iron troughs thirteen feet wide by six feet deep, and giving a weight of 73 tons of cast iron per arch. The design, manufacture and provision of these was left to Thomas Telford and his assistant James Thompson, and the plates were ordered by Thompson, after a visit to the Pontcysylte aqueduct in Denbighshire, from William Hazledene of Shrewsbury who had supplied them for that structure. They were brought by sea from Shropshire to Leith via the English Channel.

To-day, the chief threats to the Union Canal come from uncorrected accidents (such as slipping bings), from demolition carried out in the name of improvement, and from casual vandalism. As an outstanding monument of our industrial past, it urgently requires a planned policy for preservative treatment: and, thanks to the recent founding of the Scottish Inland Waterways Association, one can now feel more hopeful for its future and that of Scotland's other canals.

ON THE RE-DISCOVERY OF *LINNAEA BOREALIS* at MELLERSTAIN

Notes by A. G. LONG, Hancock Museum

Linnaea borealis was first discovered at Mellerstain by Mr. Dunn the gardener in 1834 (*H.B.N.C.* 1, 248). It was first seen there by members of the Club in 1843, and Dr. Johnston wrote that it occupied two or three considerable patches located in a fir wood on Lightfield Farm (*Natural History of the Eastern Borders*, 1853, p.99).

In 1866 the plant was seen again at the same site on 28th June, and said to be in full flower (*H.B.N.C.* 5, 244).

In 1869 Dr. Charles Stuart described the plant as growing over an area which was about eighty paces in circumference on 2nd July (*H.B.N.C.* 6, 71).

In 1880 James Hardy noted that the plant was still present at Mellerstain (*H.B.N.C.* 9, 229 and 293).

In 1894 Rev. G. Gunn recorded its presence at this locality (*H.B.N.C.* 15, 82).

In 1915 Rev. J. J. M. L. Aiken could not find it at Mellerstain (*H.B.N.C.* 22, 354), but in the following year it was found by J. Ferguson (*H.B.N.C.* 23, 47). This is the last record I have found for the plant at the Mellerstain site.

On 1st July, 1972, the Club held a special botanical meeting at Mellerstain with the object of trying to re-locate the plant. Mrs. E. O. Pate made the arrangements, first obtaining permission for the visit from the Estate Factor, Mr. John E. Hume. Mr. Sturrock, the Forester at Mellerstain, kindly met the party of about 25 members who assembled at the "Cocked Hat" plantation at the eastern entry to the estate on the road south from Gordon. As Bonaparte's Plantation had been felled and re-planted in relatively recent years, fears were entertained that the *Linnaea* might have died out, since it is a shade-loving plant. Much time was spent without success searching among the herbage between the young trees of the new plantation, but a few members ventured over the wire-netting fence at the west side and near to a ditch bounding the older birch wood which had not been re-planted. It was in the shade of this wood, a short distance from the N-E corner and due south of Lightfield Farm, that Messrs J. and G. Waldie of Gordon found the plant growing over an area of a few square yards and bearing its twin

bell flowers of delicate pink colour. The plant was photographed and the whole party summoned to see the plant which had survived over the span of 138 years from its initial discovery. Nearby a Woodcock was flushed from its nest with four eggs. Everyone went away gratified to know that this interesting plant named in honour of the great Swedish botanist was still surviving at the place of its first discovery in Berwickshire.

Other sites at which *Linnaea* has been found in the County are: Huntly Wood near Gordon (1880, *H.B.N.C.* 9, 294); Longformacus strip (1884, *H.B.N.C.* 10, 608); wood between Drake-mire and Brockholes (1891, *H.B.N.C.* 13, 386) and Fans (1922, *H.B.N.C.* 24, 358). It would be of interest to investigate these localities and determine whether or not the plant still survives at these stations also.

THE MEUCHEL STONE

By G. A. C. BINNIE

This headstone is to be found on New Horndean Farm, virtually due east of the farmhouse (O.S. reference NT 900 501). Some fifteen yards of a five-feet-high wall remain, which marks the boundary between the parishes of Fishwick and Ladykirk, and the stone backs on to the wall and stands about three feet to the west of it.

The stone itself is 31 inches high, 28 inches across, and 9½ inches deep. On the east side, towards the wall, is a roughly-embossed cross, with a 19-inch vertical arm and 17-inch horizontal arm, both about 4 inches wide.

The inscription on the west face reads:

THE
MEUCHEL STONE
INSCRIBED
ANNO 1805.
MOST
ATROCIOUS
ASSASINATION.

The Meuchel Stone is also known locally as the "Packman's Grave", and the story is told that a packman was caught stealing horsehair (one of the hind's perquisites) in the stables at New Horndean. He fled, pursued by some farm workers who caught and killed him as he clambered over the wall; the alternative story is that, in his haste to climb the wall, he slipped and was strangled by the straps of his packman's bag.

The cross on the stone might suggest that the Meuchel Stone is a gravestone, but Horndean graveyard is only a couple of hundred yards away, and was still in use in 1805. The packman's identity and the fate of his assailants remain a mystery; there is certainly no mention of such a crime in any edition of the *Kelso Mail* of 1805, and no mention either in the parish records of Ladykirk. However, on 6th September 1736 the parish records state that "Thomas Meichall in Norham had a child baptised called Agnes"; could it be that the name of the unfortunate packman was Muckle?—a surname still extant in Norham.

See photo between pages 106 and 107

EXTRACTS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF DR. JAMES HARDY WITH
MRS. JANE BARWELL-CARTER

Letter 41.

Mill Vale, Wooler, Oct. 14, 1875.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I have your obliging favour, and though I wrote two days ago, and have nothing to tell you, I may as well mention that a journey to Norham this season is not very likely to happen. As soon as I go home, and find all right, I think of going to Edinburgh for a week, to consult libraries, and will then settle down to work at the "Proceedings" . . .

I return Mr. Cunningham's letter—Miss Hunter would probably have some of your Father's letters, as well as Miss Bell. . . .

This is the second wet day we have had here. I made some observations on Monday on glacial scratches on some of the sandstone rocks. A shower came across the hills opposite, and involved them in that deep gloom which is so impressive; which we never see in the low country. When the blast moved on, the Cheviot tops were whitened with hail. Next morning there was thunder. The frost of Monday has loosened the tree leaves, and before my window to-day showers of leaves are passing like meteors. My look-out is opposite a bank covered with tall beeches and ashes, with a willow in the foreground, and two tall pear trees, and as night falls, and the branches interlace in the shadow, I seem to be in the depths of a forest. There is a pleasant view in another direction of Wooler Haugh, with interlacing hedgerows, single trees, cots, and whitewashed farm houses, nearly as far as the scene of Surrey's encampment before Flodden, and the old house of entertainment when Wooler was resorted to, for drinking goat's milk.

I shall probably go home about Saturday next week, and will resume my walks as soon as the weather permits.

Believe me,

Dear Mrs. Carter,

Yours faithfully,

James Hardy.

Letter 42.

Oldcambus, by Cockburnspath,
Nov. 17th, 1875.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

It is a long while since I came home, but somehow I never have found leisure to write, although wishing to do so. I had letters both to write and to reply to, and a large number of books to read, and some places to go to, and I have not got all concluded as yet. It was very dreary when I passed Berwick on my return . . . the only spot of beauty was Mrs. Forster's house, Castle Hills, in the centre of its rich framework of variegated foliage. Before I left Wooler I took a journey to Langleyford and the base of Cheviot, very much that I might write and tell you, how it looked in its autumn bravery; and moreover it was a sort of commission to point out what parts of the valley, and hills might be photographed to advantage. But it is a month ago now, and I would have to resort to my Journal, and have not time to copy anything, but the scene was very lovely and one never wearies in these mountain solitudes. I have only to shut my eyes, and the brown and orange birchen woods, the green and golden hazel shaws, and the stiff dusky alders, which chiefly compose the woodlands, return vividly, with all the barren hillsides, the grey castellated rocks, the gloom along the hill-tops, and the twilight yellow-brown of the plots of bracken. We have all these here, but they are "tame and domestic", as the poet says, to one "who has roamed on the mountains afar". We have no grand shadows to heighten them. The weather has been so bad, that had our proposed visit to Norham been taken, it would not have been very comfortable. I have been in East Lothian examining some British Graves, but there was neither skeleton nor work of art revealed, and I saw seven of them; nothing except the side and bottom slabs remained. I got cold and have not been well since. I got some information about Birds; and it seems there is something more, that I have to go back and inspect. . . . I am trying to get a little notice of Jeffrey the Roxburgh historian, i.e. to get somebody to write an obituary; for I cannot do everything, especially about people I know nothing about.

I wish to have the printing set going, and some papers ready before going to Edinburgh to consult some libraries. . . .

I am busy reading some books which I wish to finish. I hope you are well, and that I shall hear from you when convenient, and with best wishes.

Believe me,
Dear Mrs. Carter,
faithfully yours,
James Hardy.

Note.—Alexander Jeffrey (1806-1874) became a member of the Club in 1862, for a Memoir see *H.B.N.C.* 7, 471-480; there is also a notice and portrait in *H.B.N.C.* 25, 485-486.

Letter 43.

Oldcambus, Dec. 17, 1875.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I have been variously employed since I heard from you, and not much further forward than I was. As regards coming home, I passed through in the middle of the week. I had flowers and bushes and a heavy lot of luggage, and did not come by the coach; had one of my bad days, which kept me other two, and at last sallied out, regardless of rain. It is a pity you had expected me. My saying I would come, was in respect to the visit to Norham, which I said I could not take. I have not moved out since from the neighbourhood. Our printing is not getting on, I don't know for what reason. These Alnwick people don't use me well, by not answering my letters. I have today put in order the Memoir of the Rev. Abraham Robertson, D.D., Savilian Professor of Astronomy, Oxford: a native of Dunse. . . . I would like if we could find out more local worthies, and members to write their lives. . . . I cannot expect to have Mr. Logan of Penang ready this year. I may even give up the Battle of Dunbar, and save my visit to Edinburgh. . . . I have not been able to find a writer for Sir William Jardine yet. I am advised to try his father-in-law, who is a respectable writer on Geology. No one in Dumfriesshire knows him scientifically, I am told. Some of his collections of books were sold last week, in Edinburgh. Perhaps the house was overloaded. The Birds are not sold. . . .

I am being importuned to write some papers on hurtful farm insects, for the Highland Society, and have given a sort of consent, provided I have time. However, it is to be kept a secret for the present.

We have had very unpropitious weather. I have been twice laid up, but recovered as rapidly, and one can now have pleasant walks. Along all the coast there are tokens of wreck; a Baltic ship apparently with timber, has perished in some of the late storms. Our most numerous birds inland at present are field-fares; at sea, wild ducks. A small party of St. Cuthbert's ducks are visible today. We cannot get our wheat sown yet. I fear it is going to rain again before we are ready. It has been called an awkward season in this respect, but we may overcome it yet.

I have no news as I very seldom see anyone, I am getting some new old books to follow out researches in history; and

have read a number of modern productions within the last few weeks.

I inserted a notice of Miss Elizabeth Hunter in the President's Address, as being your father's correspondent, etc. I have not got the date of her decease yet.

With kind regards,
Believe me,
faithfully yours,
James Hardy.

Letter 44.

Oldcambus by Cockburnspath,
Dec. 26, 1875.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I had your favour today, and as I will be putting odds and ends together perhaps tomorrow, I will write you at once. I have been rather unwell today, but have got over it. Perhaps I am rather sitting too close; but I get out on all the good days.

First of all, I have succeeded in getting the Rev. W. S. Symonds to consent to write an Obituary Memoir of Sir William Jardine, and he proposes to take Mrs. Strickland's assistance. I hope they will combine their information. . . . It would not be an unadvisable plan, to add your Father's notes on Jardine Hall, at the end of the notice, if you could manage to copy them, with ease to yourself. The names of Jardine, Selby and Johnston are indissolubly connected. . . .

If any of your lady correspondents have seen a life of Miss Jane Porter, with letters dated from Lesbury, perhaps you might find out for me, what she says about the place, and also about Stockdale the eccentric Vicar . . . born at Cornhill . . . a most prolific writer, who always imagined he would rise to fame as a poet, and I suppose, died believing that he had not got justice, and that one day his name would fill the world. One time Sheridan was on a visit to Lord Grey at Howick, and Stockdale took the occasion to ask the wit to write a preface to a proposed Edition of his collected works. Sheridan wrote by return:

"Rag, tag and bobtail
The mad works of Stockdale";

and so the negotiation ended. I have been reading his life by himself. It is full of vanity about himself, but there were some good things about him. He wrote against Bull-baiting and similar cruelties to animals; and was an early advocate for the abolition of human slavery. . . .

I am expecting a visit from your M.P. Captn. Milne Home, along with his brother-in-law to see my collection of insects. This of course is an event in my retired position. I will try to enlist the brother-in-law into the Club's active service, if he wishes to work as it seems.

With kind regards,
Believe me,
Dear Mrs. Carter,
Yours faithfully,
James Hardy.

Letter 45.

Oldcambus, Jan. 1st, 1876.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I would have acknowledged the arrival of your father's admirable Journal earlier, but I have been over at Penmanshiel, seeing my Father. It will answer very well to follow the Memoir, but it occurs to me that instead of giving the title, visit to Sir William and Lady Jardine, it would be better to make it Jardine Hall. . . . I have said a few words to introduce the paper, and I have given it this title. . . . Accept the Club's thanks *ex officio*. . . .

The country across the moors is very unlovely and bleak on a day like this; one sighs for the summer leafage and verdure.

I hope to get this posted tomorrow morning in time.

Believe me,
Dear Mrs. Carter,
faithfully yours,
James Hardy.

Letter 46.

Oldcambus, Jan. 17, 1876.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I have not much time tonight to write a long letter. I have to apprise you, that the Memoir, or Obituary Notice of Sir William Jardine, has come to hand; and if you are ready to start with your contribution, I shall be fortified against printer's demands, for a little way onward. . . .

As regards Stockdale, I will adhere to what Mr. Tate says of him, as it is too long a subject to enter upon. You will, however, oblige me by giving me the volume and page and date of the Quarterly Review, where the work is noticed; as I intend to point out where more information can be obtained. Miss Jane

Porter wrote a notice of his life for Nichols, the printer of the Gentleman's Magazine. . . .

I am very busy at present transcribing some Border poetry, and local facts, and out of door, I am surrounded by three flocks of sheep, which I require to look at, at least twice in the day; besides being tormented with rooks stealing the new sown wheat. There is no getting away anywhere at present; and I am so busy that I have neither time to repine, nor weary. The voluntary pen work will be finished in a day or two.

Believe me,
Dear Mrs. Carter,
faithfully yours,
James Hardy.

Letter 47.

Oldcambus, Jan. 26, 1876.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

As long as I mind, I have now cleared off the notices of Queen Margaret, which occurred while in search of other facts, and I am not likely to meet with her soon again. You will find them enclosed. . . .

I must not forget to enclose some verses on your father by Dr. Henderson—one of his best effusions. They appeared in the "Berwick Advertiser" at the period when you would be all in mourning, and you may not have noticed them. I found them when transcribing some of Dr. Henderson's MSS. . . .

I have got an article from the "Annals of Nat. Hist.," describing a new mite with the funny name of *Calyptostoma Hardii*. It is one of the biggest of its kind. Your father used to be fond of this class of minims. This is altogether new. Perhaps it may be reprinted, as the Newcastle people do, with their scientific papers. We have very little science in this number.

It continues good open weather. I get a stroll every day. . . . I have everything ready for attacking Mr. Tate's paper, and filling up omissions, and then I look for ease to my arm.

Believe me,
Dear Mrs. Carter,
faithfully yours,
James Hardy.

Letter 48.

Oldcambus by Cockburnspath,
March 27, 1876.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I have been from home, and could not earlier acknowledge receipt of the Newspaper (which will be returned when I have leisure to read the article), and the packet of letters. I am glad you are so well pleased with the correspondence. There are more in a large miscellaneous collection of letters in quarto, which I shall seek out some day, and send to you. I have some of later date than those in the octavo vol. . . . Perhaps the blank at the end may have been owing to my own remissness in writing, at a time when I might be engaged on some researches; or it may have been when the house was repairing at Penmanshiel, and we got divided into two families, some in our old house, and others in the cottages; and then there was no opportunity for letter writing. . . .

The contributions for the "Proceedings" are mostly forward, but a number of new observations have been sent, and I must immediately recast some notes to admit them. . . .

I am keeping pretty strong. Out of doors I am getting on with the seed-sowing. Beans are finished with me, and oats will be nearly concluded tonight. My forwardness is not the rule, but the exception. On the sea-coast we are favoured with a dry climate.

I will write you again, when I have my arrears of letter writing cleared off. I find I am again nominated on the School Board of the parish.

Believe me,
Dear Mrs. Carter,
Yours faithfully,
James Hardy.

Letter 49.

Oldcambus, April 28, 1876.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

One ought not to promise to write a better or fuller letter next time, as it only prevents that next letter being written. I have several times been thinking about this in my walks, and then forgot all about it when I came in, and set to my work with the pen. I have never yet got to my paper room, to look up the Book of Letters containing your Father's; but I am getting more shelving for my books, and when I bring some of them from their present retreats, I will be sure to find the missing budget. There was a break in the present deplorable weather on Tuesday, and I got a pleasant day to visit Dunbar, and arrange for the Club Meeting, which is not to be a failure

this time. It is a mean place, Dunbar. The present provost is a drill-serjeant to the Yeomanry. We won't pick up any members in that vicinity; but there is good scope for a walk, and everything will be fresh to the most of us. . . .

Our summer birds are late this year, or rather have dropt in on us, and then left, for the Cuckoo was early, having been heard and seen on April 7th. One swallow was visible this week. I have the corn all sown, and it is mostly above ground; but I suppose some will have scarcely commenced on high, or undrained soils. This is a bad bitter blast today, retarding everything.

I see only one error in printing your Father's Journal: the word *Polygonums* is printed with a small *p*. I remember correcting it, but sometimes the corrections are not entered carefully at Alnwick. It is of no consequence. It reads better in print, than in the written state. Your Father's new list of Fishes for his proposed Fauna appeared to be carefully wrought out, and might be worth giving. Very few have been added since.

Believe me,

Dear Mrs. Carter,

Yours faithfully,

James Hardy.

Letter 50.

Oldcambus, May 19, 1876.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I enclose you a Report of the Dunbar Meeting, which you may give to the Warder, or any other of the Newspapers of the town, for none of them have had one from me. . . . I was busy all yesterday with proofs, and other necessary matters. I have to go to Penmanshiel this afternoon. My father has been very bad for some days. He is very old, almost 95. The Dr. gives us hopes that he may rally.

We had a fine day at Dunbar. . . . We were constantly occupied, and could not do justice to the papers. Only one was read—Mr. Gray's on Dunbar—and it was received with applause. Sir W. Elliot is getting frail, and did not speak distinctly.

The Proceedings are printed, except the List of Members, and the Index. The last is not copied out yet. It is the Proceedings that forms the inducement, it seems, for a proportion of the new membership. We have been revising the list, and calling in arrears, and do not lose many.

Believe me,

Dear Mrs. Carter,

Yours very truly,

James Hardy.

RECORDS OF MACRO-LEPIDOPTERA IN ROXBURGHSHIRE AND SELKIRKSHIRE

(Watsonian Vice-Counties 80 and 79)

By A. G. BUCKHAM, Wells, Denholm

Large White <i>P. brassicae</i>	17.5.71 4.9.71	Wells, garden. Wells, sawmill.	NT 51	More seen in 1971 than in 1972.
Small White <i>P. rapae</i>	17.5.71 21.8.71	Wells, garden. Wells, sawmill.	NT 51	Common, also in 1972.
Green-veined White <i>P. napi</i>	13.5.71 10.6.71	Wells, garden. Wells, sawmill.	NT 51	Common, two broods. Fewer in 1972.
Orange-tip <i>A. cardamines</i>	19-26.5.71 21.5.72	Wells, sawmill.	NT 51	Several, but fewer in 1972.
Camberwell Beauty <i>N. antiopa</i>	5.9.71	Lindean reservoir, Selkirkshire.	NT 52	One seen, reported but not taken.
Peacock <i>I. io</i>	20-29.9.71	Bedrule Mill. Wells, sawmill.	NT 51 NT 51	Fairly common, fewer in 1972.
Red Admiral <i>V. atalanta</i>	24.8.71 none 1972	Wells, garden and sawmill.	NT 51	Common at "sugared" trees.
Painted Lady <i>D. cardui</i>	6.8.69	Railway, Rutherford Mains, Kelso.	NT 63	50-150 incoming migration, reported.
Small Tortoiseshell <i>A. urticae</i>	5.8.72	Wells, sawmill.	NT 51	Common, hibernates in toolshed.
Scotch Argus <i>E. aethiops</i>	8.71 8.72	Minto.	NT 52	Small colony, not too strong.
Meadow Brown <i>M. jurtina</i>	9.7.71 3.7.72	Wells, Denholm.	NT 51	Very common.
Small Heath <i>C. pamphilus</i>	14.6.71 22.6.72	Wells, Denholm.	NT 51	Very common.
Scotch Brown Argus <i>A. artaxerxes</i>	27.7.71 15.7.72	Wells. Allan water.	NT 51 NT 40	One only. Several.
Common Blue <i>P. icarus</i>	23.6.71 28.6.72	Wells. Billierwell Haugh.	NT 51 NT 51	Common.

Small Copper <i>L. phlaeas</i>	19.5.71 5.9.71 28.5.72	Forest nursery. Wells.	NT 51	Fairly common where foodplant grows.
Ringlet <i>A. hyperantus</i>	26.6.71 9.7.72	Wells. Denholm.	NT 51	Common in damp places.
Convolutus Hawk <i>A. convoluti</i>	10.9.61	On drying-green, Rutherford Mains.	NT 63	Migrant.
Elephant Hawk <i>D. elpenor</i>	4.6.70	Camps Wood, Rutherford, Kelso.	NT 63	Larvae on willow-herb.
Poplar Hawk <i>L. populi</i>	26.5.71 26.6.72	Wells, sawmill. Denholm.	NT 51	Common at light; larvae on poplars.
Humming-bird Hawk <i>M. stellatarum</i>	21.6.73 3.7.73	Elm Park, Selkirk. Timberholm, Wells, Denholm.	NT 42 NT 51	Migrant. Day-flying on flowers.
Puss <i>C. vinula</i>	22.5.72	Wells, sawmill.	NT 51	Seven larvae on poplars.
Lesser Swallow Prominent <i>M. gnoma</i>	21.7.71 19.7.72	Wells, sawmill. Wells, sawmill.	NT 51 NT 51	Three at light. Two at light.
Pebble Prominent <i>E. xizexae</i>	26.6.72	Wells, sawmill.	NT 51	One at light.
Coxcomb Prominent <i>P. capucina</i>	10.7.71	Wells, sawmill.	NT 51	Several at light.
Pale Prominent <i>P. palpina</i>	25.6.72	Wells, sawmill.	NT 51	Three at light.
Peach Blossom <i>T. batis</i>	21.6.72 12.7.72	Wells, sawmill.	NT 51	Four at light. Two at light.
Yellow Horned <i>A. flavicornis</i>	29.3.71 21.3.73	Bowmont Forest. Town o' Rule, Bonchester.	NT 72 NT 51	One at light. One on birch.
Common Vapourer <i>O. antiqua</i>	7.68	Rutherford, Kelso.	NT 63	Four larvae on elm hedge.
Dark Tussock <i>D. fascelina</i>	22.5.71 15.4.73	Selkirk Hill. Ruberslaw, Denholm	NT 42 NT 51	Pupa on heather, imago emerged 6.7.71. Larvae on heather.

TREASURER'S FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 22nd SEPTEMBER, 1972.

INCOME

Credit Balance at 22nd September, 1971 £312.94

Subscriptions

Annual, Junior and Library £664.16
 Entrance Fees 24.00
 Sale of Badges 20.40
 Arrears 30.85

739.41

Sundries

Deeds of Covenant £44.06
 Donations 300.00
 Overpaid Subscriptions 0.50

344.56

£1,396.91

EXPENDITURE

Printing of History 1971 (Provisional estimate) £447.00

Printing and Stationery

Printing of Club notices and postage 122.29

Sundry Expenses

Purchase of Club Badges £35.00
 Insurance, Books and Public Liability 24.00
 Duplicating of Statements 2.20
 Refund of Subs. overpaid 0.50
 Postage of Cards for Subscriptions 6.92
 Slide Show, rooms, etc. 10.10
 Coldingham Excavation 382.60
 Wreath 5.00
 Bank charges 2.20

468.52

Subscriptions

Chillingham Wild Cattle £1.05
 British Association 10.00
 Assoc. for Preservation of Rural Scotland 2.05
 Scot. Reg. Cl. British Archaeology 2.40
 Berwicks Cl. of Social Service 1.00

16.50

Officials' Expenses

Mr. W. Ryle Elliot (Secretary) £41.24
 Rev. J. I. C. Finnie (Editing Sec.) 1.50
 Mr. W. O. Morris (Treasurer) 14.84

57.58

Credit Balance at Bank, 22nd September, 1972 £282.98

Cash on hand 1.34

284.32

£1,396.91

BALANCE SHEET

LIABILITIES

Carried from General Account	..	..	£281.83
<i>Investment Account</i>			
Balance at September, 1972	..	£61.26	
Interest added	..	2.13	
			63.39
Special Investment Dept.	..	£232.06	
Interest added	..	16.24	
			248.30
Special Investment Dept.	..	£72.46	
Interest added	..	5.04	
			77.50
			<u>£671.02</u>

ASSETS

<i>Cash in Bank</i>			
Royal Bank of Scotland	..	..	£280.49
Trustee Savings Bank	..	..	63.39
(Special Investment Dept.)	..	..	248.30
(Special Investment Dept.)	..	..	77.50
			<u>£669.68</u>
<i>Cash in hand</i>	..	..	1.34
			<u>£671.02</u>

W. O. MORRIS,
Hon. Treasurer.

IAN A. McDONALD,
Hon. Auditor.

HISTORY
OF THE
BERWICKSHIRE
NATURALISTS' CLUB

The Centenary Volume and Index, issued 1933, price 50p.
is invaluable as a guide to the contents of the *History*.

HISTORY
OF THE
BERWICKSHIRE
NATURALISTS' CLUB

INSTITUTED SEPTEMBER 22, 1831

"MARE ET TELLUS, ET, QUOD TEGIT OMNIA, CŒLUM"

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1973

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1974

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The Editing Secretary will be obliged if
contributions to Part I of Volume XL can be
received by 31st March 1975.



HISTORY OF THE BERWICKSHIRE NATURALISTS' CLUB

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7. John MacKay Wilson.
8. The Gosford Claviorgan.

Plan

Coldingham Priory 1973.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BERWICKSHIRE NATURALISTS' CLUB

LADY BELL AND LORD P.

*being the Anniversary Address delivered by Lady McEwen
of Marchmont, President of the Club, on 11th October 1973
at Berwick-on-Tweed.*

This slight and perhaps mysterious title replaces the more grandiose one originally intended, of Domestic Economy in the eighteenth century with particular reference to houses in Berwickshire. This is partly because of the scale of the subject, but chiefly because, in the course of researches, I was fortunate enough to find that the County Record Office of Bedfordshire had a number of letters written from Marchmont in the 1770s by the then Lady Polwarth to her mother Lady Grey, and also to discover in the library at Marchmont the Inventory for the house compiled in 1794. This last is of interest as it comes between those of 1760 and 1815, which are in a volume in the Duns Public Library, and also because it is in greater detail. It was written in a fine copperplate hand at the death of the last Earl of Marchmont by William Lamb, Upholsterer, of Edinburgh, and John Ledgerwood, Cabinet Maker, of Greenlaw, who gave the value of each item and meticulously signed the foot of every page. These two sources, together with the other inventories mentioned, and the Account Books and Letters in the Register House in Edinburgh have provided the main basis for this paper.

Lady Bell (Lady Amabel Grey or Yorke), was the wife of Alexander Hume-Campbell, Lord Polwarth, to whom she often referred in her letters as Lord P. He was the only son of Hugh, third and last Earl of Marchmont by his second wife Elizabeth Crampton; and she herself was the elder daughter of Philip, Earl of Hardwicke by his wife Jemima, Marchioness Grey. She was generally referred to as Lady Bell even in the Inventory of 1794, where it lists the contents of Lord Polwarth and Lady Bell's Bedroom, twenty years after her marriage, and ten after her husband's death.

That room is now my own. It had been furnished by Lady Marchmont soon after the house was built in the 1750s. The window curtains and the hangings for the mahogany bed were of straw-coloured "painted tafity lined with persian".¹ There were two oblong looking-glasses with gilt frames surmounting two gilt and marble tables, a Wilton carpet, old family portraits on the wall, a line and a tassel for the bell (matching the curtains), a fireplace well fitted with a steel grate, poker, shovel, tongs and fender, not to mention more mundane objects such as bolsters, pillows, a feather bed, blankets and mattresses and two mahogany night tables (with two china chamber pots).

It is more likely, though, that Lady Bell wrote her letters to her mother in the Painted Room (or Best Dressing Room) next door because, unlike the Bedroom, that did have a mahogany folding table. The fact that it also contained a dressing table and wardrobe (both mahogany) and eight chairs indicates that far from being a sort of spare bedroom, a dressing-room was more like a reception-room, and dressing a more public operation then than now. In her very first letter from Marchmont to her "Dear Mama", dated 8th August 1772, three weeks after her London wedding to Lord Polwarth, Lady Bell gives a description of the house where she was now staying with her parents-in-law. Her own parents had visited Scotland in 1755 to see Lady Bell's grandfather, Lord Breadalbane, but they had not been at Marchmont which was only just completed at that date. "Lord Marchmont's House is, without being fine, a very comfortable good House to live in; the Hall which is floor'd and the Drawing Room are very handsome. All that I have yet seen of Berwickshire is a very open Country seemingly fruitful, especially in Corn of which the

Crops promise extremely well. There is a good deal of plantation about the House, young as yet and not full-grown; the Ascent through them is very pretty".²

But Lady Grey naturally wishes to know more and a month later Lady Bell dutifully—and affectionately—obliges with a very long letter in which she finally satisfies her mother: "What a long letter I have scribbled, and yet not a word of the general Employment of the Day, which you inquired about. I must make haste to tell you in short, that we rise between seven and eight, breakfast at nine, then, either have an hour to ourselves, or if there is company we ladies sit in Lady Marchmont's Dressing Room where I sometimes bring my Drawing."³ That must have been a welcoming place, hung with crimson and yellow, full of pots of flowers and cups of tea. And it is of interest to note that Lady Bell must have had a certain gift as an artist, as some of her drawings, of her homes in England, were used for a service of china made by Wedgwood for Catherine the Great in 1774. As a child, though, she had doubted her talent for drawing animals: "Pray, did you ever attempt a cow? they seem to me to set ill for their picture".⁴ "At eleven we generally go out, airing chiefly, walking if we can, return at past one, dine at three, drink tea at six, then walk if it is dry, about eight if we have company we play at Pope Joan, if not Lord Polwarth and Mr. Fraser sit down to Chess, which yr. humble servant has just begun to learn and I am afraid will be no more a proficient in it, than she could study the Journals of the House of Lords and correct the printed sheet which is Lord Marchmont's constant Employment—I had forgot the Billiard Table among our Amusements."⁵

Messrs. Lamb and Ledgerwood do not forget the Billiard Table in their Inventory, where it figures somewhat sadly with "5 whole & 2 broke sticks for playing with". That was twenty years after Lady Bell's letters—a span of forty years since the house was built. The three previous dwellings which had been in the vicinity had all been known as Redbraes. Sir Patrick Hume, the first Earl of Marchmont, had lived in the last of these, and it is said to have been he who first contemplated building a new house: a sensible idea if one recalls that when he was being hunted by James II's soldiers after the Ryehouse Plot and his hiding hole under the floor boards was one day inspected,

"the bed bounced to the top, the box being full of water". The second Earl, his son Alexander, was abroad as Ambassador for a large part of his life and, when he did return home, was ailing, and therefore did nothing further towards the new house than planting the Long Avenue just before his death in 1740. It was his son Earl Hugh who actually built Marchmont, starting in the summer of 1750 when his wife was confined in London, having just given birth to an heir, Lord Polwarth. Lord Marchmont wrote frequently from Scotland when he was supervising the building, to his "Beloved Betty" in Upper Brook Street. His first—now unfashionable—wish, is that she should be "growing plump and strong", and then he reports on the progress of the building: "The foundation of the House goes on very well, the ground extremely good, the walls are well laid and very broadly founded and the mortar as good as can be; the timber is come home to Eyemouth and is the finest cargo that ever was seen in this Country. So that I hope, beside the lodging my Betty has in my heart, to place her in the best house in Britain in return for the palace she has given me in her arms."⁶

Four years later, in October 1754, the house was being lived in. It was referred to by Robert Chambers in his *Picture of Scotland* (1827) as "a modern edifice, surrounded by an extensive park, most of which is planted, and is approached by an avenue about a mile and a quarter long, and an hundred yards wide, the most imposing thing of the kind I ever saw. The house is plain externally, but it is well furnished and possesses many paintings. On some person taking the liberty to represent to the last Earl of Marchmont, who built it, that rublework was unworthy of so fine a mansion, the eccentric and witty old peer said he intended to live in the inside, not the outside of his house; a consideration but too little attended to in Scotland."

It may have been, may indeed be, plain externally but it was solidly built, not to say swiftly. That "handsome cargo of wood" had been laboriously fetched. Over and over again the Account Books have entries under "New House: Dr. to Cash, Customs and Expenses of wood from Eyemouth (2sh. 1⁸d)", and the "Oats and Pease for the Horses," and "to the men's expenses, going to Eyemouth." Cartloads of slates were also brought from there (three cartloads on one occasion for 1s. 8d. with 5d. paid for a

horse-shoe by the way), and yet more wood came from Berwick. At least 906 cartloads of stone were brought from Catmoss Quarry at Greenlaw and 2752 loads from another, the East Quarry (the labourers getting 6d. a day). One Ephraim Ross made a minimum of 140,000 bricks; Robert Pringle supplied innumerable nails, nearly 5000 for £1.6.3^d on one occasion. Windows were sent up from London.⁷

The new gardens were being made at the same time; trees and roots were dug up, brooms and whins culled for a dyke; earth and divots were moved, the ground was trenched and dug, quantities of seed for the Avenue Area and garden were bought and planted.

No doubt the speed of the whole operation must have been maintained by the presence of Lord Marchmont who was still living in Redbraes, a few hundred yards from the new house of Marchmont. He did have to go to London frequently, having been made First Lord of Police in 1747, and in 1750 one of the sixteen Scottish Representative Peers; and often had occasion to be in Edinburgh, apart from his attendance at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; though it was not until 1764 that he became Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland. But he had many home and local interests also. Sir George Rose (to whose father Lord Marchmont left all his books and papers) speaks of him as an "accomplished and scientific horseman and theoretical and practical husbandman and gardener."⁸ He was a keen and successful farmer, and kept many animals—horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, turkeys, geese, hens, guinea fowl, pigeons, dogs and bees. He was a great reader (though "not of modern French books" as Lady Bell says) and a musician, playing the violin, violoncello and various flutes. He looked after the welfare of his people, as the Rev. Robert Hume says in his entry on Polwarth in the first Statistical Account (1796): "Besides the inrolled poor, there are several who receive from the Kirk Session interim supplies; and others particularly the widows of such as have been servants or day-labourers to the Earl of Marchmont, are allowed by his Lordship, some a stone, others half a stone of oatmeal per week which, with the produce of their own labour enables them to live comfortably. It may also be observed that there are many old and infirm men to whom his Lordship (who has always been remarkable for his

humanity and attention to the poor people in this parish, as well as upon other parts of his estates) gives work or rather wages for what they are *unable* to perform." This same minister remarks on other points: "Great attention has been paid by the Earl of Marchmont (sole proprietor of the parish) to the dressing of the hedges; many . . . are allowed to be the finest in the country." He did much for the neighbourhood besides. It was he who kept battling for the restoration of Greenlaw as the County Town, and it was no doubt to counter the claims set out in the Petition by the Freeholders of the County of Berwick to the House of Commons in 1741 where it is said "Greenlaw cannot afford accommodation for one twentieth part of them (the freeholders coming to the Sheriff's head courts) and their servants and horses, which renders these meetings exceedingly grievous and burdensome, whereas in Duncie there is abundant accommodation for all," that, as Lady Bell says, hoping "Greenlaw will become a more considerable town than it is he takes so much pains with the Inn." It was very fine, if her account is anything to go by: "We drove to Greenlaw for, Lady Marchmont carries everybody to see the Inn and with reason; nor was the Dss. of Northumberland so much in the wrong when she told Lord Marchmont it was the Pantheon of Scotland, at least it may be of Berwickshire. The principal room has papier mâché ornaments upon a yellow ground, and is hung with Ridinger's Prints. A grand room is building ornamented so prettily in Stucco with wreaths of Vine leaves and Palm branches and flowers, that it deserves to be tow'd away, upon wheels and joined to Lord Marchmont's own House."⁹

Lord Marchmont may have complained to Duns about their attitude to Greenlaw but he did much for Dunse-spaw, as Dr. Francis Home calls it, in his book on the subject written in 1751 and dedicated to "Lord —." This mineral spring had been discovered near Nisbet Rhodes in 1747 and was thought at one time to be as health-giving as Moffat. The Reverend George Ridpath speaks of it in his diary (Friday, 10th September 1756). "Rode with William Home, his wife and John to Dunse Well, where they have been at great pains within this week or two to discover the mineral spring purer and at a safe distance from the brook which sometimes overflows the old well, in which they seem to have succeeded. They will have a less

quantity indeed than before, but by experiments they have made, two or three times as strong. Lord Marchmont's people have been attending this well for a good while past, and this new discovery was a project of my Lord's, of which he seems to be very fond." Lord Marchmont mentions it himself in a letter to his wife in 1759 when he says he visited "Dunse Well and brought Wedderburn home to breakfast."¹⁰ This spring brought a certain prosperity to Duns and it was a sad day when "in 1840, the proprietor, seeking to improve the immediate amenities . . . embarked on improvement operations," and "in the course of the draining work the medicinal spring disappeared and all efforts to recover it failed. This very unfortunate occurrence was undoubtedly a great disadvantage to Duns and district."¹¹

Lady Marchmont must have been busy also. Besides accompanying her husband on his frequent visits to London she had the house well furnished within a few years. Her own rooms were hung, as I have mentioned, with yellow and crimson balsamine. There was yellow in the Saloon, green in Lord Marchmont's rooms and in the Library, green and yellow in the Drawing-room. Upstairs the bedrooms and matching dressing rooms had blue and white sprigged cotton or red and white cotton, orange chintz with a pattern of urns, blue check, red check, crimson velvet, crimson brocade, or tapestry hangings. Each room was well fitted out: elegant beds and chairs and tables, looking-glasses, pictures, presses, fire-irons, bedclothes and the inevitable line and tassel for the bell and the inevitable chamber pot (generally concealed in a closet, cupboard or stool).

There were a couple of maids' rooms and the butler's rooms on the bedroom floor—to answer all those jangling summonses—but most of the servants were in the bottom of the house or in the wing over the stable. There slept the postilions, grooms, coachmen and possibly the footmen as there was no accommodation mentioned for them elsewhere. Seven slept in fixed wooden beds divided between two rooms; three, more fortunate men had tent beds with green or red check, and some even had a curtain bed hung with green stuff, but that must have been the coachman as his room also contained a "screen for drying the coach harness on."¹²

The housekeeper, the cook, the gardener, the laundry maids and other servant maids all had their rooms on the ground floor. I was anxious about the proximity of the cook to the gardener until I discovered, from the accounts, that the cook was a man (with a boy to help him) when my anxiety was transferred to the laundry-maids and their colleagues. However, I feel sure that the housekeeper, even from the depths of her cosy tartan-curtained bed, lined with green, would have kept her eagle eye open, as she sat there surrounded by portraits of the family. Or perhaps the picture of John the Baptist which dominated the Servants' Hall had a salutary effect, not to mention the large storeroom, known as the Haunted House, past whose dark door any night walker might have had to creep.

Lady Marchmont's arrangements were thorough and made to last: all the furnishings are the same in the 1794 Inventory as in that of 1760, though one purple and white bed cover does seem to have sunk from the main bedroom floor to the servant maids' room. The comparison of these two inventories is illuminating. The earlier one may have been done by a member of the household whose spelling was more original than that of the professional men 30 years later, but it does have some inside knowledge. For instance where the later list gives three pictures: "Thomas Earl of Haddington, Lindsay, Dutchess of Rothés," and one "name unknown," the earlier one says confidently "Earl of Haddington, Duchess of Rothés and—Mr. Pringle." In another instance the unknown turns out to be more exalted—Czar Peter.

On the bottom floor besides the servants' rooms and the billiard room there were of course the kitchen, larders, scullery, storerooms, dairy, washing house, laundry, table-room, butler's pantry, plate room, servants' hall, porter's lodge and powder room (this last containing two small and two large wig blocks and a pole for "dusting cloaths"). Some cutlery and the good linen were kept in the housekeeper's room, the glasses in the butler's pantry and all the silver in the cupboard in the library. (There is no mention of a wine cellar, though large quantities of wine were fetched from Leith and bottles bought to accommodate it). All the eighteen silver candlesticks were also in the library; otherwise the four passage lamps, the staircase lamp and 25 brass candlesticks were in the plate room, which with

other two staircase lamps kept upstairs in the maids' room, the chandeliers in the library and the saloon, the glass lamp with twelve candles in the drawing room, the hours on it for the dining room table, made a good showing of light. The establishment was a busy one in itself; it is not surprising when, as Lady Bell says, "the bustle has begun," that the laundry maids needed seventeen smoothing irons, and the cook 35 saucepans (with lids). "You will have seen . . ."—she writes to her mother—"how much we are taken up with Company. I fancy Lady Marchmont in her own heart would like a public Day and fewer Dining visits as well, but it would not do here and she is a fine pattern of *Accomodableness*. Indeed I think as I did from the first that there cannot be a better natur'd, better-tempered woman, cheerful, easy and complaisant and not minding her own trouble so she can make other people happy."¹³ She was "Just the fairest creature that ever trod this earth"¹⁴ according to the family legend. No wonder she melted Lord Marchmont's heart. The Rev. George Ridpath was not much struck when he first saw her in 1756: "The lady a very sweet looking woman and has a good face, but by no means deserves the praise given her as a beauty," but he did come round a couple of years later: "Had also the pleasure of seeing Lady Marchmont, a very amiable woman and at present looking very well."

Lord Marchmont was a widower of forty when he saw Elizabeth Crampton at the theatre. She was about seventeen, the daughter of a bankrupt linen-draper. As David Hume wrote with glee to a friend, "her looks, airs and manners had such a powerful and undisguised effect upon him, as was visible by every bystander. His raptures were so undisguised, his looks so expressive of passion, his inquiries so earnest that every person took notice of it . . . He wrote next morning to her father, desiring to visit his daughter on honourable terms; and in a few days she will be Countess of Marchmont. All this is certainly true . . . could you ever expect the ambitious, the severe, the bustling, the impetuous, the violent Marchmont, of becoming so tender and gentle a swain."¹⁵ He wrote constantly, he sent her jewellery, he waited on her at her father's house in Hatton Gardens and they were married within three weeks.

These were, I feel, his happiest years. His childhood must have been a bit bleak. His elder two brothers and two sisters had died young. His father was away as Ambassador in Scandinavia or Cambrai. His mother, of whom no one speaks well—not even her portrait—died in Edinburgh when he and his twin were fourteen and were already abroad pursuing their education under the direction of their aunt, Lady Grizel Baillie of Mellerstain. She did her loving and conscientious best and, as Sir George Rose says, Lord Marchmont's "Dutch education had given him method which was the best auxiliary in exertion to an ardent and powerful mind such as his was."¹⁶ But perhaps he and his twin harboured some adolescent resentment against their aunt. Lord Marchmont had at eighteen written to his sister Anne from the town of Franeker: "If I had any news you should have them, but there are none in such a dull hole as this."¹⁷ At all events there was a breach which Lady Grizel Baillie felt keenly, and to which she referred "not many hours before her death" in 1746: "Lord forgive the two brothers their injustice to me and give them a sight of their sin and folly."¹⁸

At that time Lord Marchmont was in the political wilderness. There is not enough time here to deal with his frustrations, let it be enough to quote Margaret Warrender his descendant: "The bright promise of his early days was never fulfilled . . . and in political life he must be reckoned a disappointed man. In his youth he had been the chosen companion of men older than himself who appreciated to the full the keenness of his intellect and a calmness of judgment beyond his years. One by one, death had removed these early friends and when Lord Marchmont again entered Parliament he found himself the last survivor of the brilliant set with which he had become identified."¹⁹

However he did enter Parliament again in 1750, when having been a member of Parliament from 1734-40 (when his father died) he was at last elected one of the sixteen Scottish Representative Peers. These, I think, *were* his happiest years. His twin Alexander had ten more years to live and they were in constant touch, corresponding frequently when not together. Alike in interests and qualities as Lord Bolingbroke wrote to Sir William Wyndham: "The two young men, you name, have not only the

principle, but the flame of public virtue; and it is for that I admire and love them,"²⁰ they were practically identical. "I told you," says Lord Marchmont to his betrothed, "I told you my brother was like me. He has proved it in the best part of me, my love of you."²¹

Lord Marchmont also wrote often and lovingly to his wife whenever they were apart. In one letter after the birth of the baby he tells her that "There is a pett lamb in the house under Nelly's Care which I have named Miss Tibbie Pringle in return for her Miss Crampton. This is just to let you my love and mistress into the joke in Lady Di's letter."²² In another, when she had gone to Holy Island for the sea bathing, where he sends her the *Chronicle* and the *News* together with some garden stuff and a moor-fowl pie, he says, "I hope your landlady continues to please you. By my notion of Fat Folk"—he refers to himself elsewhere as being *thin as I naturally am*—"she should be good humor'd. If she go naked as the other you write of I think she cannot well fail to make you laugh till you are more accustom'd to her appearance."²³

But some of his letters give one pause, in particular: "Our Boy is the fruit of that love which gets from me the fullness of parental affection. But my beloved wife is still supreme. I must have your whole heart and every passion in it. You must love our children for me, you must delight in our Boy for me. I must be first and superior in your heart and thoughts, your affection as a parent must be derived from yr. love as my wife."²⁴

Lord Marchmont was jealous about her and jealous of his son, whom he wished to make into a paragon. Lord Polwarth, the "little prattler" to whom he sends his love in some later letters must become everything that he, Lord Marchmont, through circumstance, frustration and enmity, but not through lack of capability, did not become. But that was not to be. The little prattler was to grow up like his mother, beautiful-looking, easy-going, probably with her "delicacy of judgment and strain of solid sense,"²⁵ but, despite his father's careful plans for his studies, with no greater delight—apart from the company of his dear Lady Bell—than outdoor pursuits, especially fox-hunting.

Lady Bell herself says in a letter to Lady Grey: "As to hunting Ld. P. may answer if he please. I can only say that he puts me in mind of the Cat turn'd into a Lady, for

his old inclinations will recur, and he cannot help hunting a fox sometimes with his Hounds and he thinks it will do no Harm." She tells how at Marchmont "the Hounds are gather'd in from different places and lodge at present just by the House, and yet—I assure you—they give no manner of disturbance."²⁶ She recounts how he has hunted with "the Duke of Roxburghe at Broxsmith, will hunt at Auckland with Mr. Egerton," and plans to hunt at Wimpole with his in-laws where, as she explains to her mother, "You are likely to see a third horse arrive: Ld. Polwarth was afraid so many might not be convenient to you, but I thought you would easily understand how many Accidents Horses are liable to and how necessary it is to have a spare Horse that one's Groom may be always able to keep up with one in Hunting."²⁷

Lady Grey amazed her family by taking great interest in her son-in-law's activities but, as Miss Godber quotes in her delightful book on Lady Grey, Lord Marchmont was disgusted: "If it ever got to the King that you are turned fox-hunter. There cannot be a more contemptible character in this country. Take as much of it as amuses you & tends to yr. health but talk of it lightly as *one* of yr. amusements; and in reality take great care to keep yourself superior to that and every class subordinate to true manly objects fit for one of yr. station."²⁸

As Lady Bell said on her first visit to Marchmont: "Our old Lion is a little sulky now and then but truly I think nobody seems much disturb'd when he is. Ld. P. is too lively and Ldy. Marchmont is too easy to mind anything of that sort, and we all do our own way."²⁹ But it did not last. Lord Polwarth drifted further and further away under the breath of his father's disapproval, and increasingly Lord Marchmont made his home in England.

Boswell with some trepidation called on him there on 12th May 1778 at his house in Curzon Street. (Boswell's purpose was to get Lord Marchmont to see Dr. Johnson, who was writing a life of Alexander Pope, whose executor Lord Marchmont had been. Lord Marchmont graciously consented. It was Dr. Johnson who proved less amenable). Boswell gives us one curious glimpse: Lord Marchmont "was born in the Canongate and he and his brother went from Glasgow to Utrecht, and he came quite a stranger to England. T'other day in a shop a man asked him if he

was an American. 'Why so?' 'Because you speak a language neither Scotch nor English, but between 'em.' ”³⁰

By this date Lord Polwarth besides being estranged from his father was also seriously ill, and he and Lady Bell had gone to the south of France (a disastrous choice, the winter having been cruel), but his health was not at all improved. As Boswell says, "Ld. Marchmont told me his son was perhaps no more. Hardly any hope by the last letter. I wondered how easily he talked of it, and of supporting a *poor woman* his mother. I said one did not know how to bear such an affliction. My Lord said, 'Time.' ”³¹

But time did not mend matters. Instead two years later there was the fatal election of 1780. When Lord Marchmont was elected M.P. for Berwick in 1734, his twin was elected for Berwickshire, which he held until his death in 1760. Thereafter Lord Marchmont had always nominated his own man. This was his son-in-law Sir John Patterson, to whom the Rev. George Ridpath refers: "Had a good deal of talk about the odd match of Lady Ann Hume with John Patterson which sets our noble Peer in no very advantageous light." Sir John was a racing man and a great gambler. Lady Bell at first thought him "a jolly laughing, good humour'd Country Squire with some Mother-wit and not a great deal of clergy,"³² but apparently he became more and more unscrupulous and finally matters became so bad that Lord Marchmont's grandson, Hugh Scott, tried to speak to his grandfather on the subject. When that proved useless the young man decided to offer himself as candidate. He won the seat, but he lost his Marchmont inheritance. As, in Lady Bell's words, "that certain event which shall be nameless and which I never expect,"³³ did not take place and Lord Polwarth and she remained childless, he was his grandfather's only male heir; and Lord Marchmont cut him out of his will. He also cut the last links with his son and daughter-in-law. Lord Polwarth had supported, if not positively encouraged, his young nephew in the election, and Lord Marchmont's anger included him. Poor Lady Bell tried vainly to bring about a reconciliation for Lady Marchmont's sake, especially when she realized how grievously ill her young husband was. But her attempts were unsuccessful. Finally, suddenly in March 1781 Lord Polwarth died, aged thirty. Lord Marchmont was bitter, claiming that he had not been told

of his son's imminent death, and less than a fortnight later was complaining that he presumed Lord Polwarth died in debt as he was having to pay for the funeral.³⁴ He did not seem to care that Lady Bell might have to pay some of the debts, and he cut off Lord Polwarth's allowance.

Lord Marchmont continued to sit in the House of Lords for another three years until 1784, when he was not re-elected one of the Scottish Representative Peers. He was hardly in Scotland now. The following year a large number of his books were sent to his house in Hemel Hempstead, and the rest were sent in 1792. Two years later, having left directions with Sir George Rose about his death and funeral arrangements and the disposal of the first Earl of Marchmont's sword, he died in January 1794 aged eighty-six.

Perhaps it is as well to forget the bitterness of his later years and to return to the house where the robes of his grandfather, Earl Patrick, when Chancellor of Scotland, still hung in the mahogany wardrobe of the Velvet Room's dressing-room. Although he had taken his books and musical instruments to Hemel Hempstead, Lord Marchmont had left in his study cupboard the symbols of his happier days, just as Lady Marchmont had left the flower-pots and tea-cups—perhaps the symbols of hers. "The Press in my Lord's Study" contained:

"Two hunting whips.

A small riding Bridle fully mounted.

A Brass Mould for Casting Gun and Pistol Bullets.

A small iron Balance.

Some small ropes.

Two Rifle Guns.

A large Sword.

A small Sword and a Hanger.

A scythe for cutting weeds.

A Fishing Rod.

Two pairs of Boots one of which has spurs.

A thistle weed hook.

An Adze and a Hammer.

A leather belt & pockets for carrying the above irons in.

A walking Cane.

Five walking staffs.

A set of measuring Pins.

A Plan of the Estate.

Total value £3.8s."³⁵

His bust is still in the Saloon at Marchmont, although the position has been changed and his eyes are now averted from the east, from the Long Avenue his father planted, from his own front door by which he daily passed on his way to and from his beloved Betty's rooms. She survived him by three years. His daughter-in-law Lady Bell, later called Baroness Lucas and Countess de Grey, never remarried and lived on until 1832, fifty-one years after the death of her loved Lord P.

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17. *Marchmont Papers*. Letter to Anne Hume-Campbell, 1726.
18. *Murray*.
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20. *Rose*. Letter from Lord Bolingbroke to Sir William Wyndham, New Year's Day, 1740.
21. *Marchmont Papers*. Letter to Elizabeth Crampton, 1748.
22. *Ibid.* Letter to Lady Marchmont, 23rd August 1750. "Lady Di"—Lady Diana Scott, Lord Marchmont's third daughter, by his first wife, of whom Sir Walter Scott wrote in his *Journal*: "She was the daughter (alone remaining) of Pope's Earl of Marchmont, & like her father had an acute, & an eager temper. She was always kind to me, remarkably so when I was a boy."
23. *Ibid.* 1759.
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30. *Boswell*.
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ABBREVIATIONS

- B.C.R.O.* Bedfordshire County Record Office. (Letters from Lady Polwarth to her mother, Lady Grey).
Boswell. *Boswell in Extremes* 1776-1778. Edited by Charles McC. Weiss and Frederick Pottle. Yale University, 1970.
Godber. *Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park*. Joyce Godber. Bedfordshire Historical Record Society.
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BOTANICAL MEETING AT THE BLACK HILL OF EARLSTON

On Saturday, 30th June 1973, about seventeen members of the Club assembled at Whitefield Farm for a botanical meeting at the Black Hill. A circuit of the hill was made approaching from the east. The main object of the meeting was to look for *Lycopodium selago*, the Fir Club-moss, but this was not found. Large quantities of the Parsley Fern *Cryptogramma crispa* grow on the north and west slopes and a single Juniper *Juniperus communis* was seen on the steep north side. Self-sown Larch *Larix decidua* and Scots Pine *Pinus sylvestris* were noted, and Thyme *Thymus drucei* was in flower growing near the exposure of Old Red Sandstone at the western end of the hill. The Crested Hair Grass *Koeleria cristata* was found and many plants of the lovely Yellow Mountain Pansy *Viola lutea* were seen blooming in the grassy sward on the south-eastern flank. During the course of the afternoon a single Common Blue butterfly *Polyommatus icarus* was seen, and a specimen of the Ruby Tiger moth *Phragmatobia fuliginosa* was found at rest on the grass. The day was fine with a strong west wind.

A. G. LONG

LADYKIRK CHURCH

By the Rev. W. G. BAILEY

An Address given in Ladykirk Church on 9th May 1973.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Before saying anything to you about this church, I should like in the name of the kirk session to offer to you—the Berwickshire Naturalists—a very warm welcome. I have two links with the Club which both give me great pleasure, and for which I am very grateful. One of your senior members is our senior elder, Mr. John Fairbairn, who used to farm Ramrig in this parish: and my wife is related to your Secretary and his sister, Ryle and Grace Elliot, and I have known them for over thirty-five years.

Ladykirk church is interesting both for its historical associations, and for the character of the building. I know more about the building, so let me begin with that.

It is a stone building, and originally the only woodwork in it was the doors: the present pews and pulpit were installed in 1861 when the church was restored. It is an attractive building: it is an unusual, in some respects indeed a unique building: and it is interesting because it is typical of the Scottish church architecture of the period, and because apart from the addition of the tower it has not been enlarged or altered in any material way: and so, after nearly 500 years, it is still essentially the same as when it was built in 1500.

Because the roof is built entirely of stone and covered with ashlar slabs, it is very heavy: and so the walls have been strengthened with twenty buttresses with carved finials, which give the building the appearance of a miniature cathedral.

The most interesting feature of the architecture, which is perhaps unique, is that the roof is in three parts, the roof of the two transepts being separate from the main roof of the nave and the chancel. This was presumably to save weight and avoid the necessity of crossing arches in the centre.

The tower which was added in 1743 was the work of William Adam, the Edinburgh architect: it is technically a *campanile*, or

bell tower. I do not know if it is unique, but it is certainly distinctive, even though it does not match the style of the rest of the building. It is visible as you come over the crest of the hill from Swinton or Whitsome: coming north you see it as you come down into Norham: and approaching from Berwick you see its unmistakable silhouette as you pass New Ladykirk. Its addition was commissioned by the heritor, Mr. William Robertson of Ladykirk House.

I do not know when the vestry and boiler house were added, but I suspect that this was at the end of the nineteenth century.

From the tower, as you can imagine, you get a view of most of the Merse. To the north-west there are the Lammermuirs: to the north-east the valley of the Tweed, towards Berwick: unfortunately Norham Castle is hidden by trees, but to the south we see as far as the summit of the Cheviot Hills: and to the west the Eildon Hills and Hume Tower beyond Greenlaw, and (I believe) Ruberslaw above Hawick.

Now coming inside the building: if you begin at the west end there is the tower itself. It has five storeys. The room on the ground floor is now a store and is entered from the outside, though there used to be a door into the church: you can see the lintel above the brass plate in the west wall of the church. That wall is about three feet thick.

The next three storeys are reached by a newell stair in the north-west corner of the building. The first and second are now empty, but they used to be the living-quarters of the priest: and at a later stage those three rooms were used as a prison. In the room on the first floor there was an aperture into the church, through which the priest could see the altar: you can see the stone which now blocks it. In the second floor there was a fireplace: but as he probably had no glass in his windows, I cannot help feeling that he must have been pretty cold sometimes.

In the third storey there are simply the two faces of the clock, installed in 1882, and a wooden framework which supports the works of the clock in the top floor.

In the top floor there is the clock mechanism and two bells: one is for the chime of the clock which is not working at the moment, and one to call people to worship. It does not really work either!

On the west wall you see the bust of James IV, which is the work of a Mr. Handyside Ritchie. There is also the Latin inscription which tells us that the church was built by James IV, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1500: later, through the carelessness or indifference (*incuria*) of the people, it was allowed to fall into disrepair, but was restored by the

heritors and the tower added in 1743. It was further restored in 1861, and the pews were presumably added then.

The brass plate commemorates the deliverance of the parish in a very severe storm in 1881, and tells us that the clock was given as a token of gratitude to "a merciful Providence".

The tablets in the nave and north transept commemorate previous ministers, and the more elaborate memorials in the chancel are in memory of the Robertsons, and later the Askews, who lived in Ladykirk House. There is also a hatchment on the south wall, distinguished by an *escutcheon of pretence* with Robertson arms superimposed on the arms of Robertson.

There are also one or two other objects of some interest. Hanging framed on the wall is a document issued by the Scottish Office in 1858, in the name of Queen Victoria, and sealed with a royal seal, which instructs the session of Ladykirk to appoint as their minister the Reverend William Dobie. He was to enjoy all the benefits of the church and parish until his death, and he did quite well out of it, because he held the appointment for 45 years, till 1904.

At the east end of the church there is an old dole chest of uncertain age and origin. It claims to belong to the church of Saint Nicholas in Liverpool, and is dated 1651. It was given to the church in Ladykirk in 1879, by the lady who gave the clock three years later, one of the Robertsons, Lady Marjoribanks.

The windows are undistinguished: most of them are memorial windows erected in the nineteenth century.

The church has many historical associations, but most of them were of a passing nature. As already mentioned the church was built at the instigation of the king, James IV, and is said to have been a thank-offering after his rescue from drowning in the Tweed. Thirteen years later he may have paused to worship here on his way to the battle of Flodden.

Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, the last to acknowledge Rome, signed the last Treaty of Peace between the two countries in Ladykirk Church. The Earl of Bothwell, Queen Mary's evil genius, sat in the church as one of the Scottish Commissioners to decide on over a thousand English complaints made to him and his English colleague as Warden of the Marches.

When Queen Mary of Lorraine returned from a visit to France, all the barons of the Border counties were ordered to meet her at the church with their retainers and horses.

There is really no local evidence of these historical associations, but the building itself remains as a place of worship, having been in more or less continuous and regular use for nearly 500 years.

COLDINGHAM PRIORY EXCAVATIONS, IX

By DUNCAN NOBLE, M.A.

The fourth season of excavation took place from 9th to 21st April 1973. The team included Mr. J. Barfoot, assistant director and photographer; Mr. D. Price Williams, B.A., surveyor; Mr. W. J. Webb, site supervisor; Mrs. M. Barfoot, small finds and pottery supervisor; and Mrs. B. Coulton, B.A., archaeological assistant. Taking part were students from Whitelands College, Putney, and the University of London Department of Extra-Mural Studies.

Our gratitude is due to the President, Committee, and members of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club for their sponsorship and financial support. To Mr. T. D. Thomson, we are much in debt for practical advice and wise counsel on many matters concerning the excavation.

To Mr. R. D. Birch, M.A., Director of Education for Berwickshire and the Berwickshire County Council Education Committee go our thanks for their generosity in again giving a grant to assist the excavation.

We wish to express our thanks to Mr. R. F. Knight, M.A., Principal of Whitelands College and the College governors for making it possible for Whitelands students to take part in the excavation. Their assistance throughout the years has been most valuable. To Dr. J. Hazeldene Walker, of Whitelands College, we are indebted for her active assistance on many aspects of the dig.

1973 was the year when the benefits of the mechanical removal in 1972 of unstratified top burden in the Abbey Yard Field became clear. Area excavation could now confidently be undertaken and, as can be seen on the plan, an area 12 m. by 9 m. was opened, with the previously excavated floor of the Chapter House in the middle of its western side.

A baulk running eastwards on the alignment of the A2 trench of the 1971 season divided the area into two.

North of the baulk the later, Phase IV, north wall of the Chapter House was traced to its north-east corner. Along the outside of this wall is a band of yellow mortar some 30 cm. wide which stops on the alignment of the eastern wall of the Chapter House. Investigation is not complete here as the baulk has to be removed, but one can note that the Phase IV north and south walls of the Chapter House resemble each other in having

a strip of mortar along their outsides. No trace was found in this year's operations of the earlier Phase III north wall of the Chapter House, but it could be that east of trench A4 of 1971 it survives to such a low height that excavation has not yet reached it.

Beyond the mortar outside the northern wall of the Chapter House is a darker mortar floor which is found to the north and east in areas A6 and A7 on the plan. Its full extent is not yet known, nor can it yet be assigned to any specific structures.

Trench A10 was sunk to bedrock to establish whether the Phase III or Phase IV walls ran eastwards to this point. The walls clearly did not come this far. However there were found lying in shallow trenches in the bedrock three inhumations of the type found in the earlier (Phase I) period of the cemetery discovered beneath the Chapter House in 1970 and 1971. These burials, 7 m. east of the hitherto known edge of the cemetery, show that it is larger than previously thought. Further work waits to be done on the cemetery, but one can now assign it to the post-Roman period, after A.D. 600 and before the Middle Ages.

South of the baulk and east of the Chapter House excavation went down to the limits of Romanes' operations. In this place Romanes' excavation had descended to a depth below that of the Chapter House floor. Immediately under the rubble which formed the lowest layer of his backfill were found three layers side by side running eastwards. Their composition, dark loams in which small stones are inbedded, suggests that this part, east of the Chapter House, was, as one would expect, out of doors. The southernmost layer, which is bounded on its southern limit by the eastern extension of the southern walls of the Chapter House, contains some large flat stones which form no particular pattern. Romanes appears to have ceased digging above them.

One of these stones was a dressed block of red sandstone 30 cm. by 28 cm. by 5 cm. Along one of the 28 cm. edges was a fragmentary inscription 13 by 3 cm. (see plate). Professor J. Brown, of King's College, London, is of the opinion that the inscription ought to read *Abbatissa*, but seems to have been tampered with. Professor R. Cramp, of Durham University, says of the stone that the style of the script seems to be that of a display script of about the eighth century and that to her it looks as though it is copying rather untidily a manuscript, and was not carved by someone who was very familiar with lapidary work.

While the side of the stone below the inscription was dressed flat, the side above was left rather rough, as if it were not

originally intended to be seen. This could suggest that the inscription is a secondary use of the slab. The full archaeological context of the stone remains to be investigated.

Both the Phase III and Phase IV southern walls of the Chapter House appeared to continue eastwards beyond the eastern wall of the Chapter House, the Phase IV wall lying on the northern side of the Phase III one. All that survived were two parallel layers of crushed sandstone underpack respectively 1 m. and 0.5 m. wide and 2 cm. thick. The Phase IV underpack was a few centimetres higher than the broader Phase III one. These sandstone strips were covered with rubble which on Romanes' plans appears as a wall. Just south of the Phase III pack there was a mass of rubble still mortared together which presented a face, lying at a slight angle to the alignment of the wall. On investigation what had at first resembled a wall face was considered to be the top of a rubble course which had fallen forward on to a floor of the red puddled clay which has been found elsewhere at Coldingham.¹

The question whether the Phase III wall survived to any extent into the time of the Phase IV wall must be borne in mind and further investigation will be carried out in the area. Thus far it looks as if at this point the Phase III wall does not go down to bedrock, as it does on the south side of the Chapter House. Unfortunately at the south-east corner of the Chapter House, between the deep and the shallow parts of the Phase III wall, it was robbed out in antiquity.

The area, as so far excavated, suggests that Phase III wall was standing at the time of the final destruction, which should logically have taken place during the time of Phase IV. Perhaps the much lighter Phase IV wall was just a refacing of the earlier wall. What is not in doubt is that in the Abbey Yard Field one has basically two building phases.

What is now needed is excavation to find a corner of these walls further east, and their return south.

Excavation was also conducted in the old walled garden known as the Manse Garden to the south of the Abbey Yard Field. In the course of tests in the 1960s to discover whether the garden might be suitable for use as a burial ground ashlar masonry was found at no great depth. Operations were therefore started to search for evidence of human occupation in the area up against the western wall of the Manse Garden.

Excavation by a section of the team produced a pit which contained mediaeval pottery dated stylistically to the 13th century and an adjacent mortar floor.

¹ Work done in 1974 may modify this view.

Area excavation some metres south of the pit disclosed a clay floor which had inbedded in the clay beneath its upper surface rubble which included a piece of an engaged rib.

It was considered that the immediate object, production of evidence for development of the area in antiquity had been attained and the area was recorded and backfilled.

Conclusions

In the Abbey Yard Field a mortar floor of unknown extent lies north of the Chapter House. This will be investigated in 1974.

The Phase I cemetery stretches further east than was previously known. The cemetery will be the subject of detailed publication when examination of the evidence is complete. At present one can date Phases I and II to the post-Roman period.

The southern wall of the Chapter House continues east beyond the eastern wall of the Chapter House and has a large building on its southern side.

There was development of the Manse Garden area in the Middle Ages.

LUFFNESS HOUSE

By NIGEL TRANTER

It can be given to few houses—occupied, family houses, not museum pieces—to display the evidence of a millenium's occupancy, the firm footprints of men and women for a thousand years. Luffness can do just that. In the floor of the great basement vault, now the vestibule chamber, are small incised crosses marking the burial-place of three Vikings, Norse raiders who settled here before the Christian era reached its teens—their chief called Lofda, from whom the name Luffness (Lofda's Point) is derived. Even then this place had been a strongpoint, where the Peffer Burn reaches Aberlady Bay amongst the marshes and tidelands—Pictish no doubt, for there is an Aberlady Pictish stone preserved in the parish kirk.

By a couple of centuries later a great stone castle had enclosed the site: large, powerful, as the extensive green foundations still show: important as nearby Dirleton, one of the Keys of the Kingdom. It was in the hands of that princely and semi-royal family, the Cospatrick earls of Dunbar and March, springing from the ancient Celtic royal line—of which comes to-day Sir Alec Cospatrick Douglas-Home. The sixth earl, dying on a crusade in faraway Palestine in 1286, was nursed by one of the dispossessed monks of Mount Carmel, a fellow-Scot called

Lauder. On his deathbed he sent a message to his son and heir, by Lauder—to give the monks, who would bring his body back to Luffness, part of his lands there, for their services. And so arose the Carmelite monastery at Luffness, to the west of the castle, where still may be seen the ruins of their chapel and the recumbent effigy of Earl Cospatrick.

The Dunbar earls fell, in a murky conspiracy, and the Douglasses reigned in their stead. A strange figure, one Bickerton, comes on the scene, armour-bearer to the Earl of Douglas. Presumably he was keeper of Luffness Castle for the Black Douglasses, for he was not of the stature to be lord of this great stronghold. At the Battle of Otterburn, in 1388, when “a dead man won the day”, he took the opportunity to repay some old grudge against his chief, and stabbed the Earl in the back—literally—through a gap left in his armour. So Douglas fell, to live in ballad, and Bickerton came back to Luffness. But the Douglasses discovered how their chief had died, and sought vengeance. Long they waited for Bickerton, who hid secure in the great castle—“Bickerton’s Bed” is still pointed out in a chamber in the thick walling. But one day, thinking that he was safe, he ventured out—and was promptly slain at his own door.

With the fall of the Black Douglas house, Luffness Castle passed through various hands—but the Church retained its western portion of the property. Then in 1548, the year after Pinkie, an English garrison was besieged in Haddington, and Henry VIII sent up a fleet-borne army to try to relieve it. Off Aberlady Bay it stood—but Luffness Castle prevented any landing, Mary of Guise’s French allies digging the great green ramparts which still flank the road here, behind which to mount their cannon. So furious was Henry over this that, at the peace-treaty which followed, he demanded the demolition of Luffness Castle. This was done—but not very thoroughly, the immensely thick walls of the central keep defying easy dismantling, so that the lower three stories remained, spoiled but intact.

Then came the Reformation. The Carmelites at last had to leave, and Sir Patrick Hepburn, of the Bothwell family, obtained the whole property in the land-grab of those days. He it was who built the present T-planned fortalice, on the foundations of the old keep, his initials and the date 1584 appearing on one of the angle-turrets. The Hepburns were powerful indeed in post-Reformation Scotland, and here came Mary Queen of Scots, to visit the house of her third husband’s kinsman. They stayed for 160 years: then in 1739 Charles Hope, first Earl of Hopetoun, bought the property, and the even longer reign of the Hopes began—and happily still continues.

NORHAM CASTLE

By G. A. C. BINNIE

This description does not claim to have any profound historical merit, but it is rather one person's impression of Norham Castle.

The Castle at Norham has now been in existence for some 850 years, although one must remember that it was only occupied for perhaps 450 of those years: besieged eleven times, captured five times; once besieged every 40 years and once captured every 90 years. As with all Norman castles it is based on the motte-and-bailey principle; that is to say, a tower with a small enclosure surrounded by its fortifications and moat, and outside that an outer bailey again surrounded by its fortifications and moat. Originally in 1121 it was built of wood, and this fortification was besieged and captured by the Scottish king David on two occasions, before being built in stone between 1158 and 1174. The first stone-built Norman fortification consisted of the keep we can see to-day, together with the walls surrounding the inner bailey, the inner dry moat, the outer bailey with stone walls on the north and west, and a curved south-western perimeter consisting of a mound with wooden palisades on top and a dry moat beyond. The main gate, now known as the Marmion Gate, was toward the village, and comprised a tower, drawbridge and inward-opening gate. The flanking wall on the east reached the approximate height of the highest piece of masonry remaining. Inside this wall there must have been a wooden wall-walk which continued along the face of the keep and so into the keep itself, near to the entrance. The original entrance to the keep was in the centre of the west face at a point about 20 feet above level ground, the entrance presumably being by means of a staircase or ladder. At that time there was a garderobe tower on the south face with access from the three floors of the keep; the remains of these entrances can still be seen. There was no Clapham's Tower then.

The wooden palisades around the outer bailey were replaced about 1208, and what can now be seen was in fact the base of an arched wall which was buried in a mound with a wall on top, which has now disappeared except for traces around the custodian's cottage: here the upper part of the arches can still be seen: here too was the Sheep Gate, the remains of which are now closed by wooden doors. In the tower above it, built about 1350, was the Constable's lodging in the latter part of the Castle's history. Four gun-turrets were inserted into this outer wall in the early 1500s and Sandur's Tower, built about

1208, was also converted at this time owing to the development of gunpowder. The custodian's cottage was built on one of these turrets about 100 years ago, but is itself of no interest. Clapham's Tower, which projects from the inner bailey towards the custodian's cottage, is of this time also, again having been erected with gunpowder and guns in view, and this is when the garderobe tower is thought to have been removed, to allow a clear field of fire from Clapham's Tower.

Marmion's Gate is the most characteristic feature of the Castle, deriving its name from Sir Walter Scott and not *vice versa*; the central rough stone core of this is Norman, although the gateway itself was blocked and reopened two or three times in its existence. Originally it was a gate with a drawbridge, then it was remade with a portcullis and gate, and also at one time there was a small postern which can be seen on the left side going out, as can traces of the portcullis and the hole for the bar which held shut the gate. The pit for the counter-balance of the drawbridge can be seen underneath the new bridge, and a similar pit can be seen under the bridge over the inner moat. The wall continued entire on the north from Marmion's Gate to the inner bailey, although it has been replaced and built up again once or twice in its career. Straddling the moat was the Chapel, which is now no longer in existence though its undercroft is present, and under this are works associated with flooding the moat, which was made possible about 1500, when the stream down the east of the Castle was diverted. At this time also was constructed the horses' watering-place which is underneath the wooden bridge leading into the inner bailey; and there are places for washing, and also a brew-house, although neither facility seems too inviting when one considers that the drains from the Castle must have run directly into this moat.

Norham, as befitted a castle which had an episcopal owner and resident captain, had both the captain's apartments in the keep itself, as well as episcopal accommodation in the inner bailey. Immediately beside the well is the Bishop's Hall, and at its west end are the entrances to the kitchen, buttery and pantry. In the kitchen are the remains of the great oven, and drainage places in the floor. The banqueting hall adjoins the great chamber, and behind this is a range of connected buildings immediately within the east wall of the inner bailey.

The keep started life as a foursquare erection of three stories, with an entrance, as already mentioned, some 20 feet above ground level. In about 1422 the entrance was brought down to floor level and the stairway with its prominent top inserted, and the wall level raised to allow the insertion of another floor, as can be seen from the remains of the fireplace almost at the top of the south wall. On the inside of the east wall can be

seen the outline of the gables of the Norman roof, and the present top of the keep is about the level of the original roof walk. At first the stairways were within the hollow walls of the keep, that is those walls which face the inner bailey; and when the new stair-tower was built these stairways and passages were filled in with rubble. Sadly, however, the filling in of the hollow walls weakened rather than strengthened them, and a large part of the north wall collapsed about the time of Flodden. This may have been due to the guns of James IV rather than to natural causes, especially as Mons Meg could hurl a two-foot cannonball one-and-a-quarter miles from Ladykirk, with undoubted devastating effect. Some of these missiles are in the cellar of the keep and others are said to await recovery from the Tweed. The north wall was not replaced and the rubble-filled passages are to be seen on the exposed faces. The keep was rebuilt into a smaller rectangular portion in about 1521, and the stair tower shows that the three entrances into the staircase which once came from the north were blocked up; new entrances were made into the remaining southern half of the keep. Features to note are the fine Norman fireplace in the south wall, and the window to the east of the banqueting hall. The old entrance at the other end of the dining hall of the keep presumably led to the wall walk already mentioned. The ground floor or basement of the Castle does not contain the dungeons about which Sir Walter Scott wrote, but rather the cellars where bits and pieces of any household are kept including the cannonballs which are still there.

The well is 90 feet deep, although the bottom is filled with 30 feet of rubble, and it is now dry. The Ministry of Works hopes some time to remove the rubble at the bottom of the well and restore it to its former depth; no doubt there will be some interesting finds.

Norham Castle is well known for its masons' marks, the marks being made by the stonemasons when they carved out their stones. These no doubt showed the paymaster who had done what. There are nice examples at the base of the north wall of the keep.

Various interesting personalities visited Norham in its historical period, besides the Scottish kings who besieged it. King John and Edward I held court at Norham, and John Knox must have come courting there as he married the Governor's daughter, Marjorie Bowes, in 1551. The present inhabitants are various birds which find shelter in the ruins; the Club members noticed a nest of young mistle-thrushes at the site of the inner draw-bridge, and there was a blackbird's nest at the wellhead. In addition, a green woodpecker has been seen and heard frequently in the last few years.

JOHN MACKAY WILSON AND THE BORDER TALES

By BASIL SKINNER

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Wilson's Tales of the Borders first appeared as a weekly magazine, at a price of three half-pence, on 8th November 1834. It comprised eight quarto pages in double column (as did all its successors), and contained one long and two short stories—*The Vacant Chair* (a tale of the Cheviot Hills), *Tibbie Fowler* (a tale of the Whitadder in Berwickshire), and *My Black Coat* (a tale of Spott in East Lothian).

From that moment the series continued for six years—until 24th October 1840—and comprised in all 312 weekly parts. It was one of the most remarkable successes in Scottish journalism, and also one of the chief means through which the literary influence of Sir Walter Scott reached the ordinary population of the Borders and elsewhere, both in Scotland and England.

John MacKay Wilson was born at Tweedmouth in 1804, the son of a saw-miller, and apprenticed to a printer in Berwick. He went to London in search of work, but returned north and settled down to lecturing and to writing various verse-plays and long poems. In 1832 he became editor of the *Berwick Advertiser*, and used his position to give strong support to Earl Grey and the cause of Reform. He wrote a political leader each week, but also developed the practice of filling spare space with stories in verse and prose.

Wilson's Tales, which followed two years later, formed part of what Robert Chambers in his *Memoirs* called the "Cheap Literature Movement". This helped not only to meet the demand for popular reading, but also to fulfil the philanthropist's desire to educate. Contemporary periodicals with similar aims included *The Cornucopia* (Edinburgh, 1831), *Chambers's Journal* (Edinburgh, 1832), *The Penny Magazine* (London, 1832), and *The London Journal* (1834). Wilson himself saw the *Tales* in use "as a lesson-book in several schools" (see No. 17).

Circulation increased rapidly. Of the first issue 2000 copies were printed, and these were sold out within a few days. By January 1835 the weekly printing had increased to 5000, and by April of that year it was running at 9000, together with reprints of earlier issues. In the 26th issue (2nd May 1835) Wilson wrote:

It is now half-a-year since the *Tales of the Borders* commenced, and their success may excuse the author in saying a few words concerning them. There never was an instance of what is called a provincial publication meeting such a reception from the public, and it is only one or two metropolitan publications that can boast of the same circulation, and that only within the last two or perhaps three years. . . . Of many of the earlier numbers more than 17,000 have been sold, and from proposals that have been made to the author by London booksellers, to circulate the work throughout England, Scotland and Ireland, within a month the weekly circulation will not be below 30,000.

However, the pressures on Wilson were much increased by the General Election which took place in the summer of that year. Under the dual strain of producing a weekly newspaper and a weekly journal of stories his weak constitution gave way. He died on 20th October 1835, at the age of thirty-one, and was buried at Tweedmouth.

Issue No. 49 carried a lengthy obituary, which concludes with these words:

He has left a widow . . . to depend on the profits of his works for the comforts necessary for her till she sink to rest with him in the grave. Nor are her prospects dark if those who cheered him on in his literary labours still stand by her. His materials are not yet exhausted, and "tales yet untold" are in reserve to keep alive his memory and soothe as far as earthly comforts can her widowed heart. . . . Under the management of Mr. James Wilson, her brother-in-law, and Mr. Sutherland of 12 Calton Street, Edinburgh, who is now publisher, we trust to see her reap the full reward of *his* genius and toils whose last hours she sweetened.

In the crisis that occurred immediate measures were necessary. Mr. Sinclair, a Berwick lawyer who was Wilson's executor, persuaded Dr. Carr of Coldingham, author of *The History of Coldingham Abbey*, to write an issue at once. This was No. 50, comprising *Coldingham Abbey—or, The Double Revenge*. James Wilson, the brother, played only a small part, and the main influence on the series during five more years was that of John Sutherland, the Edinburgh bookseller and publisher to whom Robert Chambers had once been apprenticed. He formed a group of contributors, very much on *Blackwood* lines, to carry on the work; and this arrangement lasted until 1840, when financial difficulties forced the sale of the copyrights to Messrs. James Ainsworth of Manchester, who continued to issue reprints throughout the nineteenth century.

Under Sutherland, the editor in general charge of the *Tales* was Alexander Leighton (1800-74), author of *Storied Traditions of Scottish Life, Men and Women of History*, and *The Romance of the Old Town of Edinburgh*. The contributors whom he gathered together included:

HUGH MILLER (1802-56). He contributed seven stories (at three guineas each). In the same year (1835) he published *Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland*.

ALEXANDER BETHUNE (1804-43). He and his brother John were originally Fifeshire labourers, and committed all sorts of acquired stories to paper. Eminently "men of the people", they published *Tales and Sketches of the Scottish Peasantry* (1836), and *The Scottish Peasant's Fireside* (1842).

DAVID MACBETH MOIR (1798-1851). He was already a contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine* (for which he wrote 370 articles in all), *The Scots Magazine*, and *The Edinburgh Literary Gazette*. He is best known for his *Autobiography of Mansie Waugh*.

JAMES MAIDMENT (d. 1879). A Londoner and an expert on genealogy, he had settled in Edinburgh and been friendly with Sir Walter Scott. He edited two volumes of *Scottish Ballads* and wrote an account of the Bannatyne Club.

Professor THOMAS GILLESPIE (1777-1844), of the chair of Humanity at St. Andrews. He contributed to *Wilson's Tales* two series—*The Professor's Tales* and *Gleanings of the Covenant*.

Under Sutherland and his team, the character of the magazine changed. The subject-matter was no longer confined to the Borders, and instead was drawn from all Scotland. Thus No. 99 included *Tales of Grace Cameron* (the West Highlands), and No. 104 *The Widow of Dunskaith* (Cromarty). Also, in order to encourage sales, the device of spreading one story over two issues was introduced.

However, one feature remained constant—the high moral tone of the stories, in which as a rule virtue triumphed, and adversity frequently had a happy outcome. To quote James Tait in 1881:

It [the magazine] found its way to the hearts and homes of Scotsmen in all parts of the world. For years it formed the staple source of amusement around many a cottar's fireside; its weekly issues were waited on with impatience and read with avidity; and, even yet after a lapse of nearly fifty years, there is probably no work to which a Scotsman will turn more readily to while away a leisure hour.

The *Tales* had an original publishing lifetime of six years, but a reprint lifetime that lasted until the 1930s. They continued a tradition, established by Scott, of historical story-telling for the masses. Some of them are prose renderings of stories already familiar as ballads, e.g. *The Worm of Spindlestonbough*, *Midside Maggie*, *The Doom of Soulis*. Others are dramatisations of historical incidents, e.g. *The Siege of Linlithgow*, *The Escape of Sir Patrick Hume of Marchmont*. In these two respects the Scott antecedents are *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* and *Tales of a Grandfather*. *Wilson's Tales of the Borders* brought this type of literature more easily to the cottage fireside.

In the detail of his plots, Wilson every now and then reveals his debt to Scott. The prison interview between Grizel Cochran and her father recalls that between Effie and Jeannie

Deans, and there is an even closer parallel between the cursing of the Laird o'Clennel by Elspeth Faa, Queen of the Gypsies, and the similar cursing of the Laird of Ellangowan by Meg Merrilees.

Also, Wilson regularly employs the same over-romantic imagery as Scott. Take his description of the Cheviots in winter:

Like a mastiff that has lost its owner, the wind howled dolefully down the glens, and was re-echoed from the caves of the mountains. The frowning, snow-clad precipices were instinct with motion, as avalanche upon avalanche, the larger burying the less, crowded downwards in their tremendous journey to the plain.

The Vacant Chair

The greatest significance of *Wilson's Tales*, however, lies in their continuance of the nostalgic tradition that Scott had developed in his early novels. This had two aspects: firstly, a recourse to domestic life as a source of narrative interest; and secondly, a compulsion to record a vanishing society in a moment of change. The *Tales* thus formed part of a movement that embraced John Galt and Dean Ramsay; and after Wilson's early death the magazine provided a focal point and publishing medium for the group of writers whom Leighton assembled. If their stories are increasingly tinged with sentiment, this is, after all, part of the general progress of the Kailyard from the Blawearie of Galt to the Thrums of Barrie.

This article is based on a paper delivered at a study-conference in Melrose on 14th November 1971. It appears here by kind permission of the Author and Roxburgh County Council Education Committee.

DRYBURGH ABBEY

By H. R. TREVOR-ROPER

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An Address to Members, given at the Abbey on 9th August 1973.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Dryburgh Abbey was founded in 1150 by Hugo de Morville, Constable of Scotland, and settled with monks from Alnwick Abbey in Northumberland. So much all the guide-books will tell us; but how little those bare details show of the great international movement of which this Abbey is a local deposit! All the great abbeys of the Tweed valley—almost all the abbeys of Scotland—were founded in one reign, in one generation, as part of a general expansion which reached not only northwards to the Tweed and beyond to the Moray Firth, but also eastwards to the Danube and the Vistula. It happened that this European movement coincided with the reign of a Scottish king who welcomed not only these new monastic orders but also the essential agents of their immigration, the Normans. This Scottish king was David I whose reign, first over part of Scotland, then over all of it, lasted altogether sixty years, from 1093 to 1153.

There had been monasticism in the Tweed valley before king David, of course. Celtic monasticism had been brought here in the seventh century, immediately from Lindisfarne in Northumberland—the Lindisfarne of Aidan and Cuthbert—ultimately from Iona—the Iona of Columba. But that impulse had long died down when the new, reformed orders of the twelfth century began their methodical and astonishingly rapid colonisation of the waste lands of Europe. The most spectacular new order was that of the Cistercians, but there were also others, which borrowed features from the Cistercian rule: Premonstratensians, Augustinians, Tironensians. All these came from the Continent to Norman England early in the twelfth century; and from England they quickly passed into Scotland, whose king, having been brought up at the English court, had (in the words of the English chronicler) “polished his manners from the rust of Scottish barbarity”, and had established Norman barons and vassals—like the Morvilles, Bruces, Haigs—throughout his own kingdom. All four Tweeddale abbeys owed their origin to him or his Norman barons, and they represented all

the four new orders. Kelso was founded by the Tironensians in 1128, Melrose by the Cistercians in 1136, Jedburgh by the Augustinians in 1138, and Dryburgh by the Premonstratensians in 1150.

These new twelfth-century monastic orders were reforming bodies. They regarded the older orders as corrupted by wealth and urban life. Therefore they advocated poverty. They planted their abbeys in the waste lands. But they were also new economic organisations, disciplined agricultural combines, and as their products conquered first local, then distant markets, they became rich like their predecessors. When the heroic age of their foundation was over, their buildings became ever greater and more splendid and they settled into the social system of the time as secular landholding corporations. Their history became a history less of religion than of feudal economy and patronage. Through patronage they batted on the tithes of the parish churches, which starved in consequence, and their abbacies became a system of outdoor relief for a rapacious aristocracy. In the reign of James IV the abbots of all the great Tweeddale monasteries were illegitimate members of the royal family, who did not reside or rule there but drew their income thence. It was through internal dissolution rather than English raids or Protestant pressure that they fell into ruin. When the Reformation came, they had no defenders: all the Catholic bishops of Scotland voted for the establishment of the Protestant Church. After the Reformation, titular abbacies continued as before. They were given to Protestant noblemen. The abbeys themselves became stone-quarries for the houses of the new patrons, who, having acquired their lands, preserved the buildings only as their private burial-grounds.

Dryburgh Abbey was the hereditary burial-ground of two families, the Haigs of Bemersyde and the Haliburtons of Newmains and Mertoun. After the Reformation these were joined by a third family, the Erskines. An Erskine had been the last spiritual abbot, and another became the first secular lord. Afterwards the property passed to the Haliburtons. The famous graves to-day are those of Field-Marshal Earl Haig, buried there in his own right, and of Sir Walter Scott, who is there in the right of his grandmother, a Haliburton. But the man who left the most visible imprint on the abbey, and enjoys the most spacious tomb in it, was an Erskine. He was David Steuart Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan; and because he is less well-known than Scott or Haig, and obtrudes himself so insistently on the visitor, I shall end by saying something of him.

Lord Buchan was a learned, vain and eccentric man who, in the late eighteenth century, presented himself as the patron of

Scotland. He was a Scotch Nationalist of a kind, and in opposition to the ideas of men like Hume, Robertson and Adam Smith, who put Scotland in the vanguard of Europe, he founded the Society of Antiquaries whose avowed purpose was to keep it firmly in the rear. In 1784, in order to provide himself with an ancestral base for his operations, he bought back, from the heirs of the Haliburtons, the lordship of Dryburgh. There he built an Ionic Temple of Caledonian Fame, adorned with the busts, or urns, of the Scottish poets; he designed festivals in their honour, and projected lavish publications of their works and effigies. He also built a wire suspension-bridge over the Tweed (which was afterwards blown down), and he sprinkled the abbey with historical inscriptions, archaic sculpture, ponderous sundials and bizarre statues commemorating ancient Scottish heroes, most of whom he claimed as his relations. There were also some non-Scottish statues which have since been removed, such as Inigo Jones, in the flower-garden, smiting his bosom and deploring the sacrilegious decay of the Abbey, and Seneca and Marcus Aurelius outside it. The most grotesque of all his statues is now mercifully concealed by a belt of trees. It is a hideous colossus of red sandstone, standing high on the north bank of the Tweed and glowering ferociously towards England. It is said to represent William Wallace. I understand that Miss Wendy Wood, the Amazonian prophetess of the more modern form of Scotch nationalism, recently led a party of faithful devotees to listen to her oratory under its protective shade and to glower harmoniously in the same direction.

It was Lord Buchan who persuaded Sir Walter Scott to claim his burial rights in Dryburgh Abbey. Indeed, though thirty years older than Scott, he hoped himself to place him there. In 1819, when Scott was very ill, Lord Buchan came to visit him and was with difficulty repelled from the sick-room. He had come, he said, to comfort the dying man by describing the solemn arrangements which he had made for his burial, including a funeral oration by himself. Scott fortunately recovered. Some years later, after meeting Lord Buchan at dinner, he recorded: "He is a Prince of Bores, but age has tamed him a little, and like the giant Pope in the *Pilgrim's Progress* he can only sit and grin at pilgrims as they go past, and is not able to cast a fank over them as formerly". In the end it was Scott who attended Lord Buchan's funeral. After seeing him deposited in his elaborate mausoleum, with its death-mask and esoteric symbolism, Scott expressed his relief at having escaped "the patronage and fuss which Lord Buchan would have bestowed on his funeral, had he happened to survive him". Buchan, he observed, "was a person whose immense vanity, bordering upon insanity, obscured, or rather eclipsed,

considerable talents. His imagination was so fertile that he seemed really to believe the extraordinary fictions which he delighted in telling".

Lord Buchan is by no means the greatest man to have left his mark on Dryburgh, but his mark is the most personal. His vanity, his absurdity, his fertile imagination are all here. He did not hide his identity, and the craftsmen of St. Boswells who carved his sundials and statues are all immortalised by name too. However, we may feel that the Abbey owes more to those more shadowy figures, Hugo de Morville, who founded it, and abbot Roger, who brought the first monks from Alnwick, and to the nameless architects who, over a period of four centuries, created the form that is now, in ruin, so romantic.

DR. GILLY'S PLEA FOR THE COTTAGER

By ROSALIND MITCHISON

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This booklet,¹ originally a paper for the Highland Society meeting at Berwick in 1841, has a misleading title. The word "peasantry" conjures up images of smallholders, but the book is, in fact, about agricultural labourers. Its information and statistics were gathered in Norham, where Dr. Gilly² was vicar from 1831-55, but its relevance is much wider. Culture, ways of life and pattern of work extended across the old frontier between Scotland and England, so Dr. Gilly's findings are illustrative of the problems of the whole Border region. He set out to explain two basic paradoxes, the constant movement, "flittings", from farm to farm of a population admirable in their physical and mental qualities and lovers of order, and also the irregular attendance at school of the children. The explanation takes the form of an attack on the quality of housing, the system of annual hire and the pay.

The importance of this booklet lies in its examination of the housing predicament of the hind. Professor R. H. Campbell in the Introduction places the work in the sanitary movement of the 1830s and 1840s. But Gilly's emphasis was not on public health. He was, of course, aware that the earth floor contributed to epidemic disease, but his main objection to bad housing was a moral one, the impossibility of preserving decency or

¹ W. S. Gilly: *The Peasantry of the Border: An Appeal in their Behalf* (Berwick-upon-Tweed, 1842). Reprinted by Bratton Publishing Limited, Edinburgh, 1973.

² William Stephen Gilly, D.D. (1789-1855), Vicar of Norham and Canon of Durham, was President of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club in 1851. For his obituary notice see *HBNC* III, 208-9.—P.G.H.

comfort. "So long as the agricultural system, in this district, requires the hind to find room for a fellow-servant of the other sex in his cabin, the least that morality and decency can demand, is, that he should have a second apartment": this was one of his claims. The other was that the total lack of comfort in houses which were basically not weatherproof was connected with constant movement of population. Families took no lasting interest in their houses because they had no likelihood of staying in them long enough to make them into homes.

Gilly's attack on the housing of the agricultural labourer was taken further two years later in a series of essays for the Highland Society, published in summary form in Volume XIV of the Society's *Transactions*. This time the attack was on the bothy system of eastern Scotland, and again the attack was based on moral grounds. The theme was to be repeated on several occasions in the nineteenth century. On all occasions the attacks on bad housing would have been more effective with clearer language. Dr. Gilly, not surprisingly in one of his professions, but still unfortunately, was particularly mealy-mouthed. Here is his description of some improved housing: "each cottage has two rooms, and belonging to it a cow-byre, pig-sty and that other convenience, the want of which is too general in every village in the North". A clarion call for better sanitation needs to be prepared to use the five-letter word "privy".

Gilly's really original contribution comes in moving from moral evils to their base in the economics of housing. An adequate cottage "with two rooms and sundry conveniences" cost £64 or more. A labourer's earnings came to £32.10s. in the year, and that sum included putting a money value on pasture for his cow and permission to plant three bushels of potatoes, rights useless without further outlay of money and time. If his family were of an age to work too he would do better, but would, of course, need a bigger income. A recent M.Sc. thesis in Edinburgh University Library, by M. Goldie, entitled "The standard of living of rural labourers in selected counties of Scotland as shown in the Old and New Statistical Accounts", establishes that a Berwickshire family of two adults and three children would not be able to use their money and material resources to obtain an adequate diet for the whole household. Since the second World War the "expectation" of housing in Britain has been a house costing 2.7 times the annual income of a labourer.¹ To put this expectation within the reach of the labourer we have had to create an elaborate structure of subsidy. Yet the post-war labourer has usually enjoyed a diet more than adequate, and could, perhaps, afford to transfer

¹ D. V. Donnison: *The Government of Housing*. Penguin, 1967. P. 63.

income from food to housing. What Gilly here established is the impossibility of housing the agricultural labourer adequately, in terms of decency and health, at a rent that he could pay. He went on to show that the labourer could not afford to keep his children regularly at school. Here again the appeal was for those with wealth to offer some sort of subsidy.

It is Gilly's hard head for money that makes this a pioneer study. The reader should place it among other literature on the Border area, notably the New Statistical Account and the evidence given to the Royal Commission on the Scottish Poor Law of 1844. The latter document contains evidence from the minister of Coldingham, which confirms Dr. Gilly's picture of the hardness of the times. "Partly owing from long exposure to the vicissitudes of weather, and partly from their diet not being of a generous nature, farm servants usually break down at a comparatively early age. Their full working years may be said to be between 18 and 45."² While admiring the moral qualities of the peasantry, early Victorian society had very little to offer it.

² P.P. 1844, xxii, p. 727.

THE CLAVIORGAN AT GOSFORD HOUSE

By Dr. PETER WILLIAMS

*Director of the Russell Collection of Harpsichords
and Clavichords, St. Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh.*

The Earl of Wemyss' claviorgan¹ is one of the most sumptuous of all extant English instruments of the eighteenth century. About the middle of that century a large number of *émigré* instrument-builders were at work in London, settling there after political and religious disturbances in their native Alsace, Saxony, Brandenburg, etc., and bringing to the art a sense of "foreign perfection" that so often seems to have earned British respect in the sphere of music. Two of the most famous were the harpsichord-maker Jacob Kirckman (Kirchmann) and organ-builder John Snetzler (Johannes Schnetzler) who, according to written reports rather than extant examples, were known to have worked together on certain composite instruments. The combination of harpsichord plus organ never became hugely popular, owing to the expense and the difficulty of upkeep (strings and pipes find it difficult to stay at the same pitch); but to clients looking for special instruments, one able to serve both drawing-room music-making and Sunday psalm-singing, such creations as the Gosford claviorgan had many purposes—not least, of course, its rarity value.

As Plate 8 shows, the instrument contains (a) a two-manual harpsichord of standard Kirckman type, dated 1745, and provided with the "stops" or sets of strings then normal (8', 8', 4', lute), and (b) five sets of organ pipes played from the lower keyboard, placed within the body filled in below the harpsichord, and blown by a cuneiform bellows operated either by the foot of the player or by a helper to the side. Two further pedals give the organ division some degree of expressiveness by allowing (a) stops to be taken off and put on without removing the hands from the keys, (b) the stops to *crescendo* and *diminuendo*. The last is achieved by the opening and closing of a panel at the side—a simple mechanical device then popular in much larger organs and indeed the origin of the Victorian "Swell Organ" known to every organist.

¹ Members who visited Gosford House on 14th June 1973, by kind permission of the Earl of Wemyss and March, will recall this rare instrument.
—P.G.H.

What precisely such instruments were used for can only be conjectured; there was never a "claviorgan repertory" in musical literature, and the cost (some £200) put it outside the grasp of most musicians. Nor is it known whether the Gosford claviorgan was as unique as it now seems. Snetzler is known to have made claviorgans with another *émigré* builder (Burkat Shudi, a Swiss German) and various diaries and MS. sources of the period suggest well-to-do musical gentlemen commissioning special instruments of the composite or hybrid kind if their whim took that form. It is probable that one or other of these builders knew instruments of the kind in the country of his origin; certainly there is a German tradition for composites, and one of the few instruments to match the Gosford claviorgan can now be seen in Salzburg, where Snetzler was apprenticed as a boy. Moreover, the kind of building technique Snetzler applied here (one of his earliest organs in Britain) was South German or Austrian rather than English, particularly the type of pipework and the soft, discreet sound it produces. On the other hand, the harpsichord is basically Flemish-derived, and Kirckman followed (and consolidated) this tradition in English harpsichord-making. The most obvious English influence on the instrument as a whole concerns the visual appearance, notably the marquetry and inlay work; a similar example by the same maker can be seen in the Russell Collection of Harpsichords in the University of Edinburgh.

The Gosford claviorgan is therefore of very special interest to musical history, strangely both in the once-flourishing world of composite instruments it gives a glimpse of, and in its uniqueness amongst extant historical instruments. Its type was fairly well known, but it must always have been something exceptional.¹

¹ For a detailed account of the Gosford claviorgan, the reader is referred to Dr. Williams' essay in *Keyboard Instruments: Studies in Keyboard Organology*, edited by Edwin M. Ripin. Edinburgh University Press, 1971.—P.G.H.

TYNEMOUTH: PRIORY AND CASTLE

By GRACE A. ELLIOT, M.B.E.

The fifth meeting of the year was held on Wednesday, 12th September, at Tynemouth and Seaton Delaval. Fog, which had marred the journey, lifted in time for Club members, who assembled at Tynemouth Castle, to get a clear view of its precincts and the Priory ruins within. The custodian's deputy, Mr. Dawson, pointed out the main features, and those who followed closely were fortunate to hear him tell, in a soft Northumbrian voice, of the ancient origins of both; how the first religious house had been built there about the year 651, and soon after became the burial place of St. Oswin, king of Deira; and how the monks had first fortified the place against the Danish invasions of the ninth century. Having been destroyed several times, the monastery was re-founded and restored by Robert de Moubray, Earl of Northumberland, in 1083, when he placed it under the jurisdiction of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Albans. In this Norman church of Tynemouth, the body of Malcolm Canmore was buried after he was killed at Alnwick. Later it was transferred to Dunfermline Abbey.

Members were shown the Percy chantry, built in 1450 and still in excellent preservation, the only modern part of it being the tracery in the rose window, which may have been restored during the Victorian era.

The first castle was built here by Tostig in the time of Edward the Confessor, who died in 1066, and from that period, with alterations, restoring and rebuilding during the intervening centuries, the castle remained an important military stronghold until it was vacated in March 1936, after being partly destroyed by fire. Now that the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century military buildings have been removed from the site, vestiges of older foundations can be traced. The sixteenth-century earthworks which replaced the ancient curtain wall are said to compare with the Elizabethan walls of Berwick; it is also interesting to note that Tynemouth Priory has much in common with our Priory of Coldingham. Also, in the shadow of the Priory, is the grave of Corporal Alexander Rollo, who died, aged 82, on 26th May, 1856—49 years after he had held the lantern at the burial of Sir John Moore at Corunna. Mr. Dawson was duly thanked for his interesting remarks before the Club members left for Delaval Hall, where they partook of their picnic lunch in the park facing the sea.

FLODDEN FIELD ORATION

9th August 1973

By GRACE A. ELLIOT, M.B.E.

An address given on the Battlefield during Coldstream Civic Week, before Provost Lloyd, Coldstreamer Raymond Dickson, his Right- and Left-hand men James Leifer and Andrew Letham, the Committee of Presenting Coldstream, and others.

Kipling once wrote:

“What should they know of England, who only England know?”

To-day we might ask ourselves: What should we know of Flodden, who only Flodden know? By considering again the life of King James and some of the old familiar stories connected with the battle, we may discover in them, something about both which has been long forgotten.

James IV of Scotland has been often labelled as a fanatic of Chivalry. But was he? We are told in the history of Linlithgow that “Legates from the Pope arrived there, to absolve king James from the sin of rebellion against his father, and to ordain him to wear an iron belt all the days of his life.” This act of penance is the first suggestion of chivalry and homage personally affecting the life of the young king, and these, together with heraldry, which they created, cannot be dissociated from his life, nor from the battle of Flodden. Such had been the way of life of all the nobility since the beginning of the twelfth century, and they were as much part of the happier, peaceful side of king James’ life as they were of the tragic events which ended it; just as they are the most important, though simpler, factor of our pilgrimage here to-day.

James IV was brought up, therefore, to expect and to receive the feudal homage of loyalty and servitude from his subjects, as well as to give the same of thanksgiving and remembrance. His code of Honour was derived from the ancient Order of Chivalry, instituted by those mailed horsemen, the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, before the second Crusade, and since their Preceptory at Torphichen, near Linlithgow where the king lived, was one of their principal seats in Scotland, it was only natural that the king should be involved in their affairs.

Heraldry was introduced by them about the year 1098, because they could not recognize each other when dressed in

heavy mail, so to avoid fighting friends instead of enemies, they wore over it a linen surcoat embroidered with an emblem depicting who they were. Later these emblems were sewn to their horse-trappings and painted on their shields, hence the name "Coats of Arms".

They practised horsemanship and dressage in all equine pursuits, and at tournaments they acquired great skill in using both sword and lance while jousting, an extremely dangerous game; but all this taught them courage and bravery, and went to the making of good soldiers. Each knight was usually accompanied by two squires, to protect him from danger, or, in times of peace, one to hold his sword and the other his horse. James IV knew all the courteous manners and customs of his time, as well as the importance of marshalling his armies ready for battle according to the strict and ancient rules of Chivalry, where knight fought against knight and none was supposed to take advantage of his enemy, even if the enemy had the advantage.

The king's standard and the banners of his knights were always carried into battle, and the archers, who usually started it, hid well behind the protection of the swordsmen's shields.

The common soldiers wore no protective clothing of any sort, nor had they proper weapons of war—an occasional sword perhaps, but mostly their own axes and knives—yet they made up the bulk of the armies, and if certain of the contemporary statistics can be relied upon, then Scotland and England had on the field of Flodden, each about 26,000 men, including the nobility. The armies of both nations, in full array, placed ready for battle on the slopes of Branxton moor, must therefore have been a magnificent sight.

In many ways James IV was one of Scotland's best kings; he was immensely popular, both for his sportsmanship and rigid attention to church and state affairs; he cared for his people and tried always to better their conditions; he was lavish in his generosity, and no one was sent empty-handed from his palace door; yet he tolerated no interference from either his wife or his nobles; he was king, he liked his own way, and his word was so much law that few men dared oppose him. He was stubborn, headstrong and adventurous. Before the siege of Norham castle in 1497-8, James, who was spying in the vicinity, ignored the warnings of his nobles about the rising Tweed: he delayed too long on Northumbrian soil, and having to cross the river when it was in full spate he was almost drowned in a whirling stell. In the midst of the torrent he swore that "should he reach the Scottish shore in safety he would build a church to our Lady, which neither fire nor water could destroy." James kept his word, and Berwickshire is grateful for his homage of

thanksgiving, for the church of our Lady of the Stell which he then ordered to be built, was the birth of Ladykirk (in 1500-4.)

Sir John Lilburn, a man called Starhead, and John Heron the illegitimate brother of Sir William Heron of Ford (commonly called "Bastard Heron") were the murderers of Sir Robert Ker of Cessford *c.* 1497, the king's favourite, his Cup-bearer, and the Master of his Ordnance. Lilburn was caught and imprisoned in Fast castle; Starhead was caught and killed a few days later, but Bastard Heron escaped altogether and went into hiding. King James appealed to Henry VII, his father-in-law, to find Heron and hand him over for punishment. Henry, who always wanted peace on the Borders, was also angry about the murder, and handed Sir William Heron of Ford over to James until such time as the Bastard could be found. Sir William, as hostage, was also imprisoned in Fast castle; it therefore stands to reason that when king James went to Ford some fifteen years later, during the Flodden campaign, all he had to do was to "lift the latch and walk in" since the castle was virtually his during Sir William's imprisonment. He made Ford his headquarters for a few days only, and his natural courtly deference to the fair sex should not in any way be blamed for his supposed negligence at Flodden. There was much to do and the task not at all easy. Lady Heron would get deference only and scant consideration otherwise.

It was here that James received Surrey's herald Rouge Croix with formal arrangements about the coming battle; and from Ford he sent back his own Islay Herald with his replies to Surrey at Haugh-head and Barmoor. He probably also ordered the besieging of Wark and Etal from Ford after he had taken Norham castle; these were all fortified strongholds, while Ford was purely a domestic one.

The immediate reason for the battle of Flodden was of course England's war with France, the ally of Scotland, and to whose aid James had sent an army from Leith. It is doubtful if the letter written by the queen of France imploring him to help her husband by setting foot with his army on English soil, and enclosing the gift of a ring, had any real influence upon the king, for James was determined to war with England anyway at this time, not did he heed the arguments of Margaret, his queen, who was against such a move. Grievances and complaints against England were mounting up, especially the non-payment by Henry VIII of his sister's dowry and his confiscation of Scottish ships under the command of Sir Andrew Barton, who was murdered after his capture. James IV found his brother-in-law, who obviously disliked him, a harder man to bargain with than Henry VII had been.

Before going over to France Henry VIII had made his queen, Katherine of Aragon, Regent and overseer of all his offices, and in this capacity Katherine was splendid. She it was who organised the collection of troops by Surrey from York northwards, and suggested that those from the south should be sent in his son's ships to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to meet with Surrey there; it was Katherine who, after the battle was over, directed that the body of James IV should be taken to Berwick to be embalmed and kept there, until such time as she had heard from Henry what his wishes were about the burial. In which case the body of the king could have lain in Branxton church until it was taken to Berwick.

The whole campaign lasted eighteen days. James crossed the Tweed at Coldstream on 22nd August 1513, staying the first few nights at Twizel and moving on next to Ford castle where he seems to have stayed until 3rd or 4th September, when he tried to destroy the castle before going to his camp on Flodden hill.

I know nothing of military strategy, but suggest that the sudden, unusually risky, three-pronged move of Surrey's to place his army between that of king James and his escape-route over Tweed, was probably organised by the bastard Heron, who had come out of hiding with other outlaws especially to help Surrey; this crafty outlaw, who lived at Crawley tower, the ruins of which stand high above Powburn and Hedgely, knew every inch of the country round about. The help he gave, however, cost him his life, for he was killed at Flodden or soon after, and the murder of Sir Robert Ker of Cessford would seem to have been avenged.

The battle was drawn up to the south of Piper's hill, the church and the village, and stretched from the west of Piper's to about the position of the present vicarage, and there the English army gathered with their mailed horsemen, archers, ordnances, swords, spears and bill-hooks, on 9th September 1513.

Instead of staying on Flodden hill, from where he could have defended the river Till, which was by this time his only escape-route, James brought his army down to Branxton moor (records say, for some inexplicable reason), and marshalled them there with standard and banners flying, his nobles in a new sort of armour, skirted instead of full armour, astride their horses, carrying their shields and swords or spears, the ordnance-men in charge of twenty-two brass cannon and seven culverines on the hillside—a brave show which would have shone in September sunshine, had the day not been extremely wet. Alas, the guns were of no use to James, being badly placed, the cannon balls went over the heads of the English; the culverines which James called "the seven sisters", and of which he was

inordinately proud, were of little use either; and where were the Scottish archers? They do not seem to have found a place in Flodden records.

The battle started with a persistent flight of arrows from the English archers about four o'clock in the afternoon, and lasted about three hours only, during which time horses charged, lances split, swords were broken, and the new and modern guns and armour which the Scots had adopted were incapable of withstanding the ferocity of the English charge, although the Highland regiments charged down the hill against them without much control; partly because some French officers whom James had put in command could not be understood by the Scots. Lord Home won his battle, but Stanley swooped round by James' right flank and caught him in the rear. Swords and bill-hooks hacked our unprotected men to pieces, and knight after knight fell dead in fierce battle. No wonder that King James IV of Scotland got down from his horse to fight side-by-side with his men. His want of forethought made him a bad leader, but he died with them gallantly.

In a MS. in the Public Library of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which is Part 2 of the Roll of Mayors and Sheriffs of that city, we can read against the year 1513 the following notice: "This yeare the Kinge [i.e. Henry VIII] enterd into France and conquered Torwin and Torney. The queene at the same tyme with ye earell of Surrey overthrowe the Scotesh Armye at Blamston caled Floddenfield where the Scotesh Kinge was slaine with divers of his Nobility and 18,000 men and tooke all his furnitur for the warres."

Twenty-two brass cannon and seven culverines went to Berwick. In three hours eighteen thousand men were killed, almost two every second, in an area of less than a square mile; your imagination will tell you of the state of this small field of battle. Alexander Stewart, the young Archbishop of St. Andrews, natural son of James IV and Margaret Boyd of Bonshaw, lay dead beside his father. He was Lord Chancellor in 1511, and the Pope gave him the rich abbey of Dunfermline and the priory of Coldingham *in commendam*.

Sir David Home of Wedderburn with his seven sons—the "Seven Spears"—fought well that day, but six sons carried the bodies of their father and eldest brother, covered with their banner, back to Wedderburn castle. To-day that banner still hangs in Wedderburn, a silent reminder of Scotland's tragedy, its shreds and tatters now skilfully repaired.

Among those who left the field that sad and tragic evening was a man called Fletcher; half-stumbling his way to cross the river into Scotland, in his ears the screaming of wounded men and horses; in his mind's eye a picture of horror and agony; in

his arms an English banner. He looked neither right nor left until his object had been achieved, when he dragged his weary feet into his home town of Selkirk some fifty miles away. He was the only man to return to Selkirk from Flodden, and he took the news of defeat and death, but the English flag which he carried showed that the Selkirk men had died with honour. Fletcher himself then died from exhaustion. Later the Town Clerk of Selkirk was knighted in memory of the heroism of these men, and each year since, the Standard-bearer of Selkirk when he leads the Common Riding, represents that gallant little man Fletcher, and Sir William Brydon who had recruited the Selkirk men who went to Flodden.

Although, from contemporary times to the present day, poets and historians have written of this famous battle, it was 397 years before it was commemorated on the field. The Berwickshire Naturalists' Club erected the memorial in 1910 by subscription; members also sent in, anonymously, suggestions for an inscription to be placed upon it. The one chosen, TO THE BRAVE OF BOTH NATIONS, discloses a sense of old-world courtesy. The cross is placed on Piper's or Pipard's hill as it was once called, a name which seems to tell us that the town herd of Branxton, in days long past, must have climbed there to pipe in the herds from the moor, with their cattle, sheep, goats and geese, to a stockade lying somewhere on this hillside.

It was usual, before a battle, for a king and his knights to celebrate Holy Communion, either in the nearest church or in a tent erected and consecrated for the purpose, and in which, should they perish on the field, their bodies could lie before the high altar until such time as they could be removed. We wonder if this took place at Branxton. If the old Norman foundations and the chancel arch of Branxton church could speak they might answer all our queries, but their tale would be the saddest ever.

Twenty-one years ago a young Englishman, Alan Leishman, living in the town, thought out a scheme for "Presenting" the Burgh of the old barony of Coldstream to its neighbours, friends and returning exiles, and also for commemorating the old ties of Coldstream with Flodden, where her townsmen, whose names are unknown, gave their lives out of loyalty to their king; and whose Cistercian nuns at its abbey of St. Mary cared for the sick and wounded who managed to return.

Surely Flodden has taught us much; it is almost 900 years since Chivalry was born and it has seen many changes. To-day our cavalcade was led by three young men, but unlike those mailed horsemen of old, they came peacefully, wearing their badges and sashes of office and carrying the Burgh flag. The

Coldstreamer, together with representatives from the Royal Burgh of Selkirk, and the Coldstream Guards Association, have paid their homage, and laid their wreaths at the memorial on behalf of us all, and of those who could not come, so that we might remember all that took place, and particularly those who suffered, on that tragic September evening so long ago, when—and I quote—

“A sword swept over the pass.
One by one the voices faded,
And the hills slept.”

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Also Chalmers' *Caledonia*; Ridpath's *Border History*; and records from the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club volumes by the late gentlemen Dr. C. H. Hunter Blair; Colonel Leather of Middleton Hall; and Captain Norman of Berwick.

The final quotation is taken from Sir Henry Newbolt's poem *He fell among thieves*.

My thanks are due to Mrs. Home Robertson of Paxton House for information about the Wedderburn flag; and to the Provost of Selkirk for the names of Fletcher and Sir William Brydon.

NATURAL HISTORY OBSERVATIONS DURING 1973

Notes compiled by A. G. LONG, Hancock Museum,
Newcastle-upon-Tyne

BRYOPHYTA. All records by D. G. Long for VC 81 (Berwickshire) unless otherwise stated.

Mosses numbered as in *Census Catalogue* (3rd Edition) and Hepatics as in *Census Catalogue* (4th Edition).

Whalplaw Burn NT 55, 18/3/1973.

- 11/2 *Pleuridium subulatum*.
- 22/5 *Dicranella rufescens*.
- 31/11 *Campylopus introflexus*.
- 35/10 *Tortula subulata*.
- 44/14 *Barbula trifaria*.
- 49/2 *Tortella tortuosa*.
- 73/4 *Poblia cruda*.
- 73/11 *Poblia annotina*.
- 96/2 *Amphidium mougeotii*.
- 12/3 *Riccardia sinuata*.
- 18/1 *Blasia pusilla*.
- 70/13 *Scapania nemorea*.
- 70/20 *Scapania compacta*.

Earnsclough Water by Edgarhope Wood NT 55, 8/5/1973.

- 35/8 *Tortula papillosa*.
- 40/5 *Pottia truncata*.
- 94/1 *Ptychomitrium polyphyllum*.
- 98/3 *Orthotrichum cupulatum* var. *nudum*.
- 102/1 *Hedwigia ciliata*.

Earnsclough Water by Edgarhope Wood NT 54, 8/5/1973.

- 73/4 *Porella cordaeana*.

River Leader near Lauder NT 54, 8/5/1973.

- 22/5 *Dicranella rufescens*.
- 73/15 *Poblia delicatula*.

Wood near Harryburn House, Lauder NT 54, 8/5/1973.

- 15/2 *Metzgeria fruticulosa*.

Black Hill of Earlston NT 53, 18/5/1973.

- 24/1 *Cynodontium bruntonii* with fruit, in cushions on rocks,
north side of hill.
55/24 *Grimmia trichophylla*.
27/1 *Ptilidium ciliare*.
34/11 *Lophozia bicrenata*.
36/6 *Barbilophozia hatcheri*.
39/2 *Sphenolobus minutus*. *New Vice-County record*.

Redpath Moss NT 53, 18/5/1973.

- 1/19 *Sphagnum fimbriatum*.
1/20 *Sphagnum girgensohnii*.
134/3 *Acrocladium cordifolium*.

Redpath Quarry NT 53, 18/5/1973.

- 56/7 *Rhacomitrium canescens*.

Burn near Redpath NT 53, 18/5/1973.

- 8/3 *Fissidens minutulus*.
79/6 *Mnium stellare*.
110/1 *Homalia trichomanoides*.
128/1 *Hygroamblystegium tenax*.
141/10 *Eurhynchium murale*.
15/3 *Metzgeria conjugata*.
75/1 *Lejeunia cavifolia*.

Leader opposite Drygrange NT 53, 18/5/1973.

- 55/7 *Grimmia alpicola* var. *rivularis*.
79/9 *Mnium longirostrum*, with fruit.
97/1 *Zygodon viridissimus* var. *stirtonii*.
122/3 *Anomodon viticulosus*.
73/3 *Porella platyphylla*.

Near Redpath NT 53, 18/5/1973.

- 35/1 *Tortula ruralis*.

Leaderfoot Bridge NT 53, 24/5/1973.

- 35/9 *Tortula latifolia*.
98/2 *Orthotrichum anomalum*.
118/1 *Leskea polycarpa*, with fruit.

Near Gledswood NT 53, 24/5/1973.

- 35/9 *Tortula latifolia*.
71/2 *Orthodontium lineare*, with fruit.
98/8 *Orthotrichum lyellii*.
122/3 *Anomodon viticulosa*.
128/2 *Hygroamblystegium fluviatile*.
140/3 *Cirriphyllum crassinervium*.

Tweed bank south of Gledswood, NT 53, 24/5/1973.

- 12/7 *Ditrichum flexicaule*.
- 34/2 *Encalypta vulgaris*, with fruit.
- 35/5 *Tortula princeps*.
- 51/4 *Trichostomum crispulum*.
- 51/5 *Trichostomum brachydontium*.
- 87/2 *Bartramia pomiformis* var. *crispa*.
- 96/2 *Amphidium mougeottii*.
- 98/9 *Orthotrichum rivulare*, with fruit.
- 106/1 *Pterogonium gracile*.
- 122/3 *Anomodon viticulosa*.
- 4/1 *Reboulia hemispherica*.
- 15/2 *Metzgeria fruticulosa*.
- 15/5 *Metzgeria pubescens*.
- 65/1 *Nowellia curvifolia*.
- 70/20 *Scapania compacta*.
- 73/4 *Porella cordaeana*.

Near Mountmill, Oxton, NT 45, 1/6/1973.

- 35/4 *Tortula intermedia*.
- 44/4 *Barbula hornschubiana*.
- 77/30 *Bryum violaceum*. *New Vice-County Record*.

Airhouse Wood near Oxton, NT 45, 1/6/1973.

- 12/1 *Ditrichum cylindricum*.
- 79/12 *Mnium seligeri*. *New Vice-County record*.
- 10/8 *Riccia sorocarpa*. *New Vice-County record*.
- 15/2 *Metzgeria fruticulosa*.
- 36/3 *Barbilophozia attenuata*.
- 37/1 *Tritomaria quinquedentata*.
- 52/11 *Marsipella emarginata*.

Airhouse Quarries NT 45, 1/6/1973.

- 5/4 *Polytrichum alpinum*.
- 35/10 *Tortula subulata*.
- 48/1 *Anoetangium aestivum*.
- 98/15 *Orthotrichum pulchellum*.
- 127/1 *Leptodictyum riparium*.

Burn east of Hartside NT 45, 1/6/1973.

- 97/1 *Zygodon viridissimus* var. *stirtonii*.

Turf Law NT 45, 1/6/1973.

- 1/1 *Sphagnum palustre*.
- 1/2 *S. magellanicum*.
- 1/5 *S. compactum*.
- 1/12 *S. recurvum*.
- 1/20 *S. girgensohnii*.
- 22/2 *Dicranella schreberana*.

- 31/6 *Campylopus flexuosus*.
 53/1 *Leptodontium flexifolium*.
 125/2 *Cratoneuron commutatum* var. *commutatum* and var. *falcatum*.

Tweed bank (Gateheugh) near Gledswood NT 53, 2/6/1973.

- 24/1 *Cynodontium bruntonii*.
 44/9 *Barbula spadicea*.
 77/28 *Bryum micro-erythrocarpum*.
 77/37 *Bryum flaccidum* (in Milldean Burn); new Vice-County record.
 79/10 *Mnium affine*.
 121/1 *Heterocladium heteropterum* var. *flaccidum*.

Top of Linn Dean Water in VC. 81, NT 45, 7/6/1973.

- 132/1 *Hygrohypnum ochraceum*.

Carfrae Common NT 45, 7/6/1973.

- 1/25 *Sphagnum capillaceum*.
 29/12 *Dicranum bonjeanii*.
 67/1 *Splachnum sphaericum*.

Upper Headshaw Burn NT 45, 7/6/1973.

- 29/1 *Blepharostoma trichophyllum*.

Lower Headshaw Burn NT 45, 7/6/1973.

- 47/4 *Plectocolea paroica*.

Black Hill of Earlston NT 53, 15/7/1973.

- 137/2 *Camptothecium lutescens*.
 33/2 *Calypogeia muellerana*.
 33/4 *C. fissa*.

Wood below White Hill NT 53, 15/7/1973.

- 8/1 *Fissidens viridulus*.
 22/- *Dicranella staphylina*.

Cowdenknowes NT 53, 15/7/1973.

- 132/2 *Hygrohypnum luridum*.

Abbey St. Bathans NT 76, 15/7/1973.

- 22/4 *Dicranella varia*.
 77/26 *Bryum bicolor*.

Polwarth Church NT 74, 15/7/1973.

- 104/1 *Leucodon sciuroides*.

Burnmouth NT 96, 21/7/1973.

- 22/4 *Dicranella varia*.
 44/14 *Barbula trifaria*.
 77/26 *Bryum bicolor*.
 137/2 *Camptothecium lutescens*.

Tweed bank at Lennel NT 84, 21/7/1973.

- 41/2 *Phasium cuspidatum*.
- 45/5 *Pottia truncata*.
- 97/1 *Zygodon viridissimus*.
- 98/12 *Orthotrichum stramineum*.
- 118/1 *Leskea polycarpa*.
- 142/4 *Rhynchostegiella tenella*.
- 10/8 *Riccia sorocarpa*, on mud near new sewage plant.

Cockburn Mill NT 75, 21/7/73.

- 22/- *Dicranella staphylina*.
- 27/1 *Dicranoweisia cirrata*.
- 44/1 *Barbula convoluta*.
- 141/11 *Eurhynchium confertum*.
- 15/2 *Metzgeria fruticulosa*.

Bolam Lake, VC. 67, NZ 08, 17/11/1973.

- 65/1 *Nowellia curvifolia*.

Records from previous years.

- 41/1 *Phasium curvicolium*, sea banks near Cove, Nov. 1972, NT 77.
- 77/31 *Bryum sauteri*, foot of Edmond's Dean, 17/6/1970, NT 76.
Both new Vice-County records.

VASCULAR PLANTS, numbered as in Dandy's List (1958). All records in VC. 81 by D. G. Long unless otherwise stated.

- 15/1 *Asplenium adiantum-nigrum* Black Spleenwort. Gateheugh (Tweed bank opposite Old Melrose and below Gledswood), NT 53, 24/5/1973.
- 24/4 *Thelypteris dryopteris* Oak Fern. Very abundant on Chester Hill screes, NT 54, 14/6/1973.
- 34/1 *Juniperus communis* Juniper, Gateheugh NT 53, 24/5/1973; Chester Hill screes NT 54, 14/6/1973; Headshaw Burn NT 45, 7/6/1973; Black Hill Earlston NT 53, one bush 30/6/1973.
- 38/2 *Helleborus viridis* Green Hellebore, Gateheugh, 24/5/1973.
- 50/3 *Thalictrum minus* ssp. *majus* Lesser Meadow Rue, Gateheugh, 2/6/1973.
- 95/1 *Erophila verna*, Whitlow Grass, woods south of Leaderfoot Bridge NT 53, 24/5/1973.
- 109/1 *Arabidopsis thaliana* Thale Cress, Gateheugh, NT 53, 2/6/1973.
- 113/2 *Viola hirta* Hairy Violet, Gateheugh, NT 53, 2/6/1973.
- 118/1 *Helianthemum chamaecistus* Rock Rose, Gateheugh, NT 53, 24/5/1973; Chester Hill, NT 54, 14/6/1973.
- 149/3 *Montia sibirica* Pink Purslane, R. Leader opposite Drygrange, NT 53, 18/5/1973.

- 168/15 *Geranium lucidum* Shining Cranesbill, Gateheugh—at edge of Tweed, NT 53, 2/6/1973.
- 211/11/54 *Rubus laciniatus* Cut-leaved Bramble. A garden escape in hedge between Chirnside and Allanton, NT 85, 13/8/1973, Mrs. C. I. Robson.
- 224/1 *Acaena anserinifolia* Pirri-pirri Bur. Gateheugh, NT 53, 2/6/1973.
- 432/1 *Pedicularis palustre* Red Rattle, Linn Dean Burn, NT 45, 7/6/1973.
- 439/1 *Lathraea squamaria* Toothwort. Woods south of Leaderfoot Bridge. NT 53, 24/5/1973.
- 447/1 *Origanum vulgare* Marjoram. Gateheugh, NT 53, 2/6/1973.
- 453/1 *Clinopodium vulgare* Wild Basil, Cockburn Mill, NT 75, 21/7/1973.
- 495/2 *Valeriana pyrenaicum* Giant Valerian, at edge of Tweed, Gateheugh, NT 53, 2/6/1973.
- 663/12 *Carex sylvatica* Wood Sedge, woods south of Leaderfoot Bridge, NT 53, 24/5/1973.
- 681/1 *Melica uniflora* Wood Melick, Gateheugh, NT 53, 2/6/1973.

ENTOMOLOGY

P. icarus Common Blue and

P. fuliginosa Ruby Tiger, both at Black Hill Earlston, NT 53, 30/6/1973.

O. plecta Flame Shoulder, Cowdenknowes, NT 53, 30/6/1973.

C. chamomillae Chamomile Shark, one larva on Scentless Mayweed, Burnmouth, NT 96, 21/7/1973.

I. biselata Small Fan-footed Wave, Tweed bank at Lennel, NT 84, 21/7/1973.

O. sambucaria Swallowtail moth, Crookham, VC 68, NT 93, 22/7/1973.

I. io Peacock butterfly, two at Kelso outside Border Union showground, VC 80, NT 73, 3/8/1973, G. Hardy.

V. atalanta Red Admiral, several at Cove on sea-braes, NT 77, 8/9/1973.

E. testata Chevron, Cockburnspath village, NT 77, 8/9/1973.

RECORDS OF MACRO-LEPIDOPTERA IN ROXBURGHSHIRE AND SELKIRKSHIRE

(Watsonian Vice-Counties 80 and 79)

By A. G. BUCKHAM, Wells, Denholm

Peach Blossom <i>T. batia</i>	18.6.71	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	A few each year at light and sugar.
Lesser Satin <i>O. dipharis</i>	25.7.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	One only at light.
December Moth <i>P. populi</i>	25.12.70 11.11.71 22.10.73	Bowmont Forest, Kelso. Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 72 NT 51	Common at light in considerable numbers.
Pale Oak Eggar <i>T. crataegi</i>	9.6.71 emerged 18.8.71	6 larvae on heather and scrub birch, Gilboa, Wells, Denholm.	NT 51	Not very common.
Northern Eggar <i>L. quercus callunae</i>	2.6.71 1.7.73	Rubers Law, Denholm. Dykes Hill, Denholm.	NT 51 NT 51	Males flying by day, larvae on heather.
Fox <i>M. rubi</i>	26.5.70 9.10.73	Hoselaw Moor, Kelso. Rubers Law, Denholm.	NT 83 NT 51	Males flying. Larvae on moorland.
Emperor <i>S. pavonia</i>	7.5.71 16.4.73	Rubers Law, Denholm. Female, ova obtained.	NT 51	Fairly common. Larvae on heather.
Pebble Hooktip <i>D. falcataria</i>	22.7.72 24.7.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Not uncommon, males come to light.
Chinese Character <i>C. glaucata</i>	1.7.72 22.8.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Six specimens at light.
Large Marbled Tortrix <i>N. revyana</i>	6.9.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	One only at light.
Muslin Footman <i>N. mundana</i>	14.7.72 3.8.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Common at light.
Garden Tiger <i>A. caji</i>	10.8.70 2.8.73	Kelso. Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 63 NT 51	Several. Two at light.

White Ermine <i>S. lubripedæ</i>	7.7.70 14.7.73	Rutherford, Kelso. Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 63 NT 51	Very numerous at light.
Ruby Tiger <i>P. fuliginosa</i>	26.5.70 22.5.73	Selkirk Hill, Selkirk. Gourley Bog, Wells, and on Rubers Law.	NT 42 NT 51	Larvæ fairly common. Larvæ and cocoons.
Nut-tree Tussock <i>C. coryli</i>	22.5.72 8.6.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Common at light.
Grey Dagger <i>A. psi</i>	24.7.71 6.7.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Comes to light, not common.
Knotgrass <i>A. rumicis</i>	17.5.72 29.7.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Comes to light, not common.
Coronet <i>C. ligustri</i>	27.6.73 29.7.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Two only at light.
Turnip Moth <i>A. segetum</i>	3.7.71 5.7.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Comes to light.
Heart and Dart <i>A. exclamatoria</i>	5.7.70 27.7.71 3.8.73	Bowmont Forest, Kelso. Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 72 NT 51	Common.
Dark Swordgrass <i>A. ipsilon</i>	6.10.72 27.10.72	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Two at light. One at light.
True Lover's Knot <i>L. porphyrea</i>	20.7.72	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Comes to light.
Pearly Underwing <i>P. tanica</i>	24.7.72 27.9.70 3.11.73	Bowmont Forest, Kelso. Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 72 NT 51	One at light. One at light.
Double Dart <i>G. augur</i>	22.7.69 17.7.73	Rutherford, Kelso. Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 63 NT 51	At light, larvæ on poplar. At light and sugar.
Autumn Rustic <i>A. glareosa</i>	27.8.72 3.9.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Common at light.
Grey Rustic <i>X. castanea</i>	28.7.72 25.8.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Occasional, at light, not common.
Dotted Clay <i>X. baja</i>	20.7.71 17.8.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Common. Eleven at light.

Plain Clay <i>E. depuncta</i>	1.8.72 28.8.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Common, fourteen at light on one night.
Setaceous Hebrew Character <i>X. c-nigrum</i>	26.8.70 3.8.73	Bowmont Forest, Kelso. Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 72 NT 51	One at light. Fifteen at light.
Double Square-spot <i>X. triangulum</i>	24.7.71 9.7.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Fairly common at light and sugar.
Ingrailed Clay <i>D. mendica</i>	5.8.71 22.7.73	Selkirk. Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 42 NT 51	One at light, C. B. Williams. Two at light.
Barred Chestnut <i>D. dahlia</i>	23.8.71 28.8.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Comes to light, not common.
Small Square-spot <i>D. rubi</i>	12.7.72 4.7.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Comes to light.
Six-striped Rustic <i>X. sexstrigata</i>	16.9.71 16.8.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Occasional at light.
Flame Shoulder <i>O. plecta</i>	23.6.70 28.8.73	Bowmont Forest, Kelso. Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 72 NT 51	One at light. Fairly common.
Flame <i>A. putris</i>	22.9.70	Bowmont Forest, Kelso.	NT 72	One only at light, not common.
Lesser Yellow Underwing <i>N. comes</i>	17.8.73 28.8.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Very common.
Large Yellow Underwing <i>N. pronuba</i>	20.7.72 3.9.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Very common at sugar. 300 at light on one night.
Lunar Yellow Underwing <i>N. orbona</i>	26.8.73 28.8.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Not common. Seven at light.
Broad-bordered Yellow Underwing <i>N. fimbriata</i>	6.9.72 4.9.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Not uncommon, in small numbers.
Lesser Broad-bordered Yellow Underwing <i>N. janthina</i>	4.7.71 3.9.73	Wells Sawmill, Denholm.	NT 51	Very common at light and sugar.

SEATON DELAVAL HALL

By FREDERICK HETHERINGTON

A Talk given at Seaton Delaval on 12th September 1973.

This house was built between 1718 and 1730, at a cost of about £12,000. It was designed by Sir John Vanbrugh for Admiral Delaval, who had retired from the Navy a rich man, and who bought the estates from his uncle Sir John Delaval. Sir John had become impoverished owing to an unfortunate marriage settlement by an ancestor.

The house is built in the Palladian tradition, and is left with a much-reduced centre block and two domestic wings, stable wing on the east and kitchen wing on the west. Originally it was meant to have a long façade balanced to the right and left of the remaining centre block, but only the eastern half was constructed, and this was finally demolished in the last quarter of the nineteenth century after being extensively damaged by the fire of 1822, which left the whole of the centre block roofless for 40 years.

Although Vanbrugh paid a number of visits during construction, most of the supervision was left to his assistant—a Mr. Etty—who had been in charge of the building operations at Castle Howard. Thirty-five masons were employed during the building season at a wage of 3s. per day, with 30 assistants at 1s.6d. per day. The stone came in the rough by cartload, from a quarry on the estate, and was paid for at 1s.6d. per load delivered. At the same time the trees forming the woods were planted by women at a wage of 9d. per day. It was said that Vanbrugh built his houses for outward show or as a massive piece of sculpture without any thought for inside convenience, and the heaviness of his style is remembered in an epitaph by a Dr. Evans which says:

Under this stone, Reader, survey
Dead Sir John Vanbrugh's house of clay.
Lie heavy on him, Earth! for he
Laid many heavy loads on thee!

Admiral Delaval, who had taken up residence in a completed part of the house, died in 1723 of a fall from his horse in the gardens. He was succeeded by his nephew, Captain Francis Delaval, who had already inherited Ford Castle from his mother

and henceforth called himself Blake Delaval. Captain Francis Blake Delaval had a family of eight sons and five daughters, and it is around them that the tradition of the "gay Delavals" has grown.

The best-known of them was the eldest son—later Sir Francis Delaval—a spendthrift, pleasure-loving man with a genius for theatrical entertainment and a great practical joker. He died in 1775. The second son, who later became the first and last Lord Delaval, was able to salvage what was left of the house and estates and discharge his late brother's enormous debts. John, Lord Delaval, in addition to his more serious pursuits, participated in the revelries at Seaton Delaval and in London. He had a son, also named John, who was the hope of the family but who died at nineteen as the result of being kicked by a maid whilst at Bristol Springs for his health. Lord Delaval died at Seaton Delaval in 1808, since when the house has not been really lived in. His brother Edward, who lived at Doddington Hall in Lincolnshire, succeeded him but never visited his property here and died in 1814. Rhoda, the eldest child of Captain Francis Blake Delaval, having married Sir Edward Astley of Melton Constable in Norfolk, their grandson Sir Jacob Astley, ancestor of the present owner, became the new owner.

As previously mentioned, the centre part of the Hall was burned in 1822 and remained roofless for 40 years. In 1862 John Dobson, the Newcastle architect, came here and arranged for new roofs and arches to be constructed. By the 1930s it had again become dilapidated and dangerous, but with the aid of grants from the Historic Buildings Council in 1959-62 a new scheme of repairs was carried out and the centre block again made safe and weatherproof.

The Delaval family originally came to the area early in the twelfth century, and built a castle and a chapel, the latter being the only remaining part of the original building. The family lived in the castle, or manor house, until about 1638 when they had to leave owing to money troubles. The old castle was pulled down by Vanbrugh when the present house was built. They were notable people in the county and had varying fortunes. Two whom I would mention are Sir John Delaval and Sir Ralph Delaval.

Sir John Delaval, who lived here in the mid-sixteenth century, was described as a "genial knight", and the following was written about him by a contemporary historian:

Sir John Delaval hath bin a patron of worship and hospitalitie, most like a famous gentleman during many years and powdred no man by the salt of extorcion or oppressing his neyghbour, but liberally spendeth his salt, wheat and mault like a gentleman. I neede not put his name in remembrance in my booke for it shall live by immortal good fame when my poor booke shall be rotten.

The other, Sir Ralph Delaval, lived here between the years 1567 and 1628. He was described as a leading figure in the county in the reign of James I, mainly occupying himself with county matters and the affairs of his own estate, where

. . . he kept an open, great and plentiful house for entertainment his own family consisting dayly in his house threescore persons and above. He used to preach every Sunday in his chapel and was very zelous in his religion, which he openly professed to the last, and, having settled his estate by will of his own writing, taken the communion, blessed his wife and children and desiring absolution of his sins from the minister, which done, within 24 hours he made a calm and quiet period of his life.

THE CHURCH OF OUR LADY

This is said to have been built by Hubert de la Val in the early part of the twelfth century. Slabs of Scotch slate fastened with sheepshank bones used to cover the roof and a small Norman window, blocked from inside, can be seen in the north wall. Inside, the nave retains its original west door and is divided from the choir by a broad Norman arch, moulded and enriched with zigzag ornament. A similar arch divides choir from sanctuary. The choir and sanctuary have a semi-barrelvaulted ceiling. The eastern end of the church was rebuilt in the fourteenth century, but the east window is thought to be a copy of the original tracery, which is inserted over the door of the porch erected at the west end in 1895. There are two effigies in the sanctuary, representing a knight and a lady. The equipment of the knight serves to date this effigy between the years 1250 and 1275, so it is probable that the figures represent either Sir Eustace Delaval (d. 1258) and his wife Constance de Baliol, or Sir Henry Delaval (d. 1272) and his wife Mary de Biddleston.

Another interesting feature within the altar rails is a rare fenestella or piscina with a shelf or credence table above.

The hatchments hanging on the walls are for the later Delavals and the first of the Astleys to own the estate.

The chapel, as it then was, was consecrated in 1102 by Ralph Flambard, Bishop of Durham, and a charter of 1174 shows it as dependant upon Tynemouth Priory, to whose original patron saint, Our Lady, it was subsequently dedicated. Robert Delaval was baptised in this chapel on 22nd June 1263, and Henry Delaval on 12th January 1343. By agreement with Tynemouth Priory the patronage of the Chantry of Our Lady was vested in the Delaval family, who continued to keep it in good repair. In 1891 Delaval parish was formed out of the larger parish of Earsdon, and the chapel of Our Lady became the first parish church, which it remains.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF DR. JAMES HARDY WITH
MRS. JANE BARWELL-CARTER

Letter 51.

Oldcambus, July 7, 1876.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I have now got the burden of the season off my shoulders, by the distribution of the "Proceedings", and the happy termination of the Selkirk meeting. I was in Berwick a few hours on Monday, but met with Mr. Muirhead of Paxton, with whom I spent most of the time, in the Museum. He and I called at the Warder office, I left a notice of the Meeting, and I have had a paper since. I see I have made a mistake about the house called Hangingshaw. It is really named Broadmeadows, while the hill behind it is Hangingshaw; but the scenery was all new to me, and I received that information from one of our guides, who perhaps misunderstood my question. A very full account of the meeting is contained in the Kelso Chronicle. I stayed at Galashiels in a nice house, on the borders of Gala park. I was surprised to see it such a long place, 3 miles it is said, and so many fine buildings, surrounded by steep grassy hills, and dark woodlands. Poor Gala was a mere puddle, in some places as dark as ink. Selkirk is a pretty place, mostly new, with handsome buildings, and churches, and clean, with a grand look out to Philiphaugh and Bowhill. The Duke's servants at Bowhill had on their best suits to receive us, and we could have seen anything, but the pictures were so numerous, that we were satiated. At Selkirk, after dinner, most of us were invited to tea, to one house or another. The President has a fine frank manner.

I had selected Horncliffe as being a favourite place of your father's, and it was intended to have a "fish-kettle" there. Mr. Thomas Allan, however, is going to imitate Mr. Crossman, and the Club is invited to dine with him at Horncliffe House. We are thus again to be petted, and favoured as no other Club has been. At the Dunse meeting, the President proposes to entertain us to breakfast; so that altogether this will be a remarkable year in its history. At this month's meeting we will breakfast at Norham. I hope Miss Dickinson will send her drawings to be inspected. What hostelry will hold us, I know not as yet, but have written to Mr. Smith today about it. We will then walk down the Tweed to Horncliffe.

Our Proceedings have been favourably reviewed in the "Scottish Naturalist", and nearly the whole of my Miscellanea, extracted, and a reference made to the long life of Sir William Jardine. Today I have received the author's copies from the Railway, and among others the "Journal". These I had perhaps better send you by Railway. I will retain *one copy*, in memoriam. . . . I still send a copy to Prof. Babington, and he replies that he has been interested in the Club ever since the days of your Father. Prof. Balfour has been praising us in private, as all things considered publishing the best Proceedings, and always being punctual, in or about a time that can be calculated upon. We have obtained 15 new members this year. I had a few words with Dr. C. Douglas. His brother and Mr. Boyd are enjoying their trip. I may go to St. Mary's Loch this month, but am not sure.

I will enclose one of the President's addresses in your packet, for Mr. Gray, an account of Holy Island, which I promised him. It will keep it clean. I sent him the volume on North Durham. I have been putting my books in shelves, but the painter is needed to make them decent. They are very crowded.

The country looks well, but I have not wrought much at Natural History. I have not yet come across the Book of Letters containing some more of your father's.

Believe me,

Dear Mrs. Carter,

Yours faithfully,

James Hardy.

P.S. I cannot tell when I will send the papers, all hands are so engaged at present.

Letter 52.

Oldcambus, July 18, 1876.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I thank you for your kind letter, and proposed invitation. I was not very sure about the terminus of my journey on the day of the Club's Meeting, but the President has determined it for me, that is if I am to be present, by asking me to return with him to Kimmerghame; so that I will not be cumbered with luggage. Mr. Allan appears to be ready to entertain 40 or any number. I have got a letter from Mr. Jerningham, the owner, to welcome us to Norham, and offer to send his steward to guide us, and also to conduct us to "Longridge Towers", and see the plans of the proposed new mansion there; and perhaps some of us may go. I have been preparing a few notes on Fishwick, and tonight put together, from Raine, all that is known about Horncliffe and Longridge. The Club's last and only visit was in 1843, when 11 were present, and it was reckoned

"a good meeting". The picture of the place is well drawn in the "Eastern Border". It is to be hoped there are no pig-styes there now, and that this portion of the scene is obsolete. I am assured by a second letter that we are to have the boats to take us to the lone churchyard at Fishwick. . . . This visit to Norham and Horncliffe has sprung out of my visit to you at Berwick, otherwise I should not have known so much of Tweedside. I got the packet of papers for you, dispatched today by Rail. . . . The contributors ought all to get copies of their papers, but this year many have been neglected. . . . There is nobody to look after the printer; and he is the only one except at Kelso, that has the proper type. But the printer was always a bugbear, all through the Club's History. What we do at the Anniversary I know not. "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof". That I fight through year after year, suffices, without any highflown expectations.

I am glad to see your nephews distinguishing themselves at late examinations. May they fulfil anticipations.

It has been awfully hot for a few days past. The sea-water to which one rushes for relief, is, however, very cold, and even biting. We require rain much; pastures are failing; cattle and sheep panting, and drink no end of water; turnips are mildewing, and the ground is firm as a rock. It is cool, however, today, and it may bring on wished-for showers.

Our next meeting will be Rothbury. How I get there I know not yet. It is the only difficulty now of the season. I have never been there. It will probably gather our Northumbrian members to a centre. It will be in harvest, but I will have to attend, as the President knows as little about it, as I do. We will find something to say about it, and are I daresay disposed to take rose-coloured views of everything animate or inanimate that we encounter on a Club meeting day. With kind regards,

Believe me,

Dear Mrs. Carter,
Yours faithfully,
James Hardy.

Note.—The President in 1876 was Archibald Campbell Swinton, LL.D., F.R.S.E., F.S.A. SCOT., (1812-90) of Kimmerghame. Sir Hubert F. H. Jerminham, K.C.M.G., of Longridge Towers, became a member of the Club in 1876. His death is recorded in *H.B.N.C.* 22, 189 (1914).

Letter 53.

Oldcambus, July 29, 1876.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

We had a very successful meeting at Norham and Horncliffe. . . . I have made out a report for the President, and have had too much writing for any more. . . . I write you chiefly to say that Mr. Campbell Swinton when the Border Counties Association meets, proposes to call, and make your acquaintance, at some early part of the day. He has heard of you from Mr. Fletcher, and when I told him that I knew you so well, he asked me to write and apprise you. He is very agreeable. He was surprised at Miss Dickinson's drawings, and is going back, when he visits Mr. Paton, to see them. He is astonished to see the attendance of the Meetings, and the intelligence that is represented in it. I had scarcely time to look up, and had to make up lists for these newspapers, while the rest were enjoying the walk, and so I missed Horncliffe Dean and Mill. I will maybe take a run up some day and see them alone, and all the walk down from the Castle. . . . There were 11 at the Meeting of 1843, and now we get 10 new members at a meeting, but the whole 10 perhaps will not make up for one of the originals.

The time was very pleasantly spent at Kimmerghame. It is a pretty place, and has many fine trees, and several impressive outlooks. The rooms are not large, but the drawing room is imposing enough. The library is very extensive, and rich in rare and costly club and privately printed works, and they are all well bound. There are books almost everywhere in Mr. Swinton's rooms, and Mrs. Swinton can draw, and has a fine book on the Highlands illustrated by herself. Mr. Swinton's brother is a painter (portrait apparently) so there are many family portraits, many of them legal personages of note. We visited Swinton on the way to Norham, and got the key of the church, and saw the effigy in a niche, of Sir Alan Swinton. It is extremely rude, and no credit to the artist, who may have been the stonemason of the period. We returned by chain bridge, and through Blackadder woods, which I never had previously traversed, and entered by a beautiful approach from the east. The ladies were excited about the visit of the Duke of Connaught next day, and I saw at least all the arrangements for his reception. I did not stay to see his arrival in Dunse, but took the mid-day train. . . . We are likely to have a great meeting at Rothbury. I shall likely go to Alnwick, and go with the company from that place, and return to it. It will be during our harvest, but I will not be missed. . . .

Our next president will probably be Dr. Charles Douglas, the name next in succession. I hope he will be sufficiently strong to attend our meetings, which are likely to be widely

scattered. By the bye there is a fine monument to Dr. Baird in Swinton Church, erected by his widow. I hadn't time to copy the inscription, but if we have a meeting at Swinton, this can be done.

Believe me,

Dear Mrs. Carter,
Yours faithfully,
James Hardy.

P.S. Please to show Mr. Swinton your mother's drawings, and the sketches on the Jed, etc.; and your father's museum, and other memorials; and your pets. You will be pleased with him. J.H.

Note.—William Baird, M.D., F.R.S., (1803-72) was a founder member of the Club. For an obituary notice see *H.B.N.C.* 6, 401-4.

Letter 54.

Oldcambus, August 9, 1876.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I thank you for kind letter and the enclosures, which I return. My letter would cross yours. I have not heard whether Mr. Swinton called or not, but I see the meeting reported. It was a disagreeable day here. As regards Dr. M.'s application, none of your father's letters are Selbornian; although they might have been had he lived in the country, which he relished so much; and I agree with you that if there is to be a publication of the correspondence, it should be simultaneous.

I have been very busy pulling down my books, and replacing them; finishing my work on Melrose within the time allotted to it. It is now gone, and I walked yesterday to the station, and saw the books safely off; so that I have had practical experience of the *weight* of the knowledge I have obtained. Free of obligation, one lives so much easier, that I feel a slight elevation of spirit, at having no more long writing for the present.

I will not be able to make Berwick my centre for Rothbury. I shall have to go to Alnwick the day before, and go with the conveyance engaged there. At least this is my present intention. Mr. Hughes, indeed offered to drive me, but he is not reliable. I have got liberty for the Club from Sir W. G. Armstrong, to visit Craggside, which is the best thing there. . . .

Mr. Jerningham is going to undertake excavations at Norham, after his house is finished, and he will probably give us an account of them, which he is fully capable of doing, as he is versant in art, and its history. I have been looking into one of his books on Greece. His scholarship is undoubted.

The weather is as hot and drougthy as ever. Yesterday was quite melting. I came along the coast from Cockburnspath for the coolness the sea-banks afforded. The harvest-bug is exceedingly prevalent, and I laid in a stock; and the little creature called thrips was most annoying getting amongst the hair. We need more rain to cool the atmosphere, and keep turnips growing, and prevent premature ripening. I had a fine show of roses last week, and the wind blighted them all in one night.

Believe me,

Dear Mrs. Carter,

faithfully yours,

James Hardy.

Note.—"Selbornian" refers to Gilbert White's *Natural History of Selborne*, originally a series of letters to Thomas Pennant (1726-98), of Downing, Flintshire, and the Hon. Daines Barrington (1727-1800), Recorder of Bristol, both authors and naturalists.

Letter 55

Oldcambus, September 18, 1876.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I have been too much occupied to reply to your first kind letter. . . .

Rothbury is a place of little consequence apart from the moory district in which it stands, the interest lies principally on the moors and hills, especially in Rimside Moor. Ellingham is a far nicer place for a meeting, and no one has ever noticed it, and it is part of the Moor. The moor is archaeologically noted for two proverbs, and they are illustrated for the first time. Rothbury is nothing but two rows of houses, on the side of a public road, where nearly half the young people are out fishing at mid-day, and to a stranger the flocks of white noisy geese are a marked characteristic, and a Darwinian might agree that their noise is a hereditary acquisition. Then the Thrums is merely a fissure in a sandstone rock, but it has its folklore interest, in two proverbs and these the Club wish to preserve, so that they are quite in keeping. There was literally nothing done that day, but looking at Sir W. Armstrong's citizen's box, and its adjuncts, and I think all its features are fairly given. It is placed in a desert, with no fair domain attached to it, and has thus the character of an excrescence, however pretty. The other features I alluded to, are such as occur on moor edges, and must be taken into account, to give the character of the place. The wet having hindered our walk, we were cooped up between the hills, and had no fair scope for viewing the country.

I had my corn all cut, when I went to Rothbury, and now I have it safely secured, except the Beans. My brothers are not

so fortunate, and sprout I hear has commenced. There is a great deal of corn exposed yet.

I could have told you that Jackdaws will destroy weaklings. At Cherrytrees the wild ones kill young chickens, when pinched for food. A squirrel I should suppose would be harmless. Squirrels occur in Aikieside and at Penmanshiel, but out of my influence at present. Mr. Dunlop by applying to some of Earl Home's employees in the Preston and Bunkle woods would most likely succeed. I once could have laid hands on one, which took an epileptic fit, and lay struggling at the foot of a tree; being startled at my approach. . . .

With kind regards,

Believe me,

Yours faithfully,

James Hardy.

Letter 56.

Oldcambus, November 15, 1876.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I have not forgotten you, although I have been so long silent, at least it seems a long time, but I have not your last at hand to ascertain. Two days ago I came again on the book of old letters containing the remainder of your Father's to me. It is not a book got up in a style for a Lady to look at, and as I said I would do, I have for the last three hours, transcribed you the whole of them, and now send them enclosed. This copy is for yourself. I could not find suitable paper, but used what I draw out my notes on. This series fills up in some measure the History of the Club contained in the former. I also enclose as I once promised the notices of Sir William Jardine to bind with your father's Journal.

I hope you keep well. I cannot get out at all, in this wet stormy weather. I was a short time at Wooler, but wet weather soon set me home again. I may whisper to you, as I told you before, first of all living beings, that some time or other soon, I may be expected to get married. It is so foolish with old people, or people that are reckoned old; but if you knew how much I am bothered to keep things in order, with only a pair of hands, you would say I had done wisely to obtain help. I will at least get quit of household cares, and have my papers kept in their places, and some aid in the Club's business. I cannot get the old house so nice as I would like it, but will maybe get another farm with a better dwelling. The house is the length of half-a-street, but has no proper accommodation, and is very cold, but there are few houses in the country that are not much exposed. I will probably be back at Wooler in December. Meantime I am getting up next year's number of

the Proceedings. . . . There is no difficulty this year in finding materials. . . . We are speaking about an additional meeting to be held at Berwick in October of each year, for business, and reading papers; at least it will be tried. This will lead to Berwick being our headquarters. If the Museum people had a decent place to keep the few books and pamphlets that come to the Club, and the extra numbers, they would be gladly placed there. They occupy too much space with me, I have so many books and papers of my own.

I am busy at present with the Record Commission's books, so far as they relate to the Borders. . . . I am going to give a notice—but not this year of Kimmerghame. . . . there was an ancient chapel at it, of which I found the Charter in Raine's North Durham. . . .

I hope this dull weather will now take its departure, and let us see the sun.

With kind regards,
Believe me,
Dear Mrs. Carter,
faithfully yours,
James Hardy.

Letter 57.

Oldcambus, November 27, 1876.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I have to thank you for your kind letter and congratulations, and for the pleasure of having Mr. Cunningham's also, whom I always forget as participating with you, in any communication I make, which indeed renders it all the freer. I do not expect any more, as my friendly correspondence is of the most restricted nature, as I have no time for it; and my old familiar correspondents are now almost entirely "wedded away", except yourself in the place of your father, and Mr. Hislop, who perhaps receives a letter once in the year. Perhaps you would notice in the Berwick papers notice of the death of Mr. A. Wilson of Coldingham. It was quite unexpected, as he was asking me down to help him with a paper for the Club; just a week before he took ill. He caught a cold, took to bed, and died after a week's illness; not able to speak all the time, but knowing those attending him. I laid his feet in the grave. There were no blood relations of his own present. The chief mourner was the husband of one of his nieces. It was most fortunate that I attended. Mrs. Wilson and her sister were much distressed. He has not left directions as to the disposal of his Museum; and I am asked to go down and see what is to be done with the outer portion of it, as it brings him too vividly to her memory. He told me he wished to leave it to some

Border Museum, and if she consents, Berwick may benefit, so far as the collection of Birds is concerned, if she is guided by his wishes. He named Kelso or Hawick, but Berwick had not started into existence, when we talked over the matter. If she would rather sell them, I shall say nothing. A collection of birds requires constant attention, otherwise it will fall a prey to the moths. . . .

I assisted on Wednesday in opening a cist at Bowshiel in this parish. It was neatly built at the sides, and was covered cross-over by five heavy slabs, which it took the strength of four to remove. A skeleton was found in the interior, in a reclining position, the head placed in the S.E. corner. An iron sword, which had had a wooden scabbard lay at the right hand, and some woolly matter near it, which may have been the remains of a sword belt formed of a portion of sheep's skin. The sword came out in fragments amidst masses of rusted clay and gravel. It is an Anglo-Saxon sword, and is very interesting, as most of the graves hereabouts belong to an earlier race. The skull was too imperfect to make anything of, except that it was of the Teutonic size. The old warrior had had a broken leg, which had not been set; but the two pieces were welded together overlapping each other. He must have had a considerable halt. There were two old camps at no great distance. At the same time one of the assistants gave me quite a handful of flint implements—arrow-heads, knives, and scrapers, which he had picked up, by my direction, during his operations in the fields on that farm. This is now the fourth grave opening that I have inspected, and have not given an account of them.

I have "Cockburn's Journal" in the house. I must read it, before sending it to the local library. . . .

Believe me,
Dear Mrs. Carter,
Yours faithfully,
James Hardy.

Letter 58.

Oldcambus, February 27, 1877.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I thank you much for your kind remembrance. My wife carried it off, and has it stored up among other tokens of good will and kindness from known and unknown correspondents of my own. We are getting on very comfortably as you prophesied it would happen, when the humanising influence of female oversight would prevail. I must tell you all about the ceremony, as some old customs and superstitions manifested themselves, not as regards ourselves, but the onlookers. When

I went to Wooler, I found everything pre-arranged. The marriage was from the house of Miss Short of Wooler Mill, a benevolent genius and social centre in the place. Her father first brought me from Berwick a little boy, under his wing, and introduced me to my uncle's family, and it is from his house, as represented by his daughter, that I took away the representative of the good folk who lived in that other house, to which I ever after came as to a home, for it was a hospitable place. I arrived the previous evening, and warned Mr. Green and got his and Mrs. Green's directions. Among other points I was to warn the police to be there, as the people were often rude, and ready to exact money, by placing a rope across the street, after the ceremony. Before leaving my house, I avoided an infliction of old shoes, by escaping at an unexpected door. I stayed at Miss Short's for the evening, and went over in the morning, and helped my intended wife to flit the few remains of articles she wished to take with her; and we all breakfasted at the house of our patroness for the occasion. Miss Short's niece was the bride-maid and Miss Halliday's nephew, who was cousin to the bride's maid was my representative. He and I had a neat posy of snowdrops and green leaves, which were the only floral decorations. A carriage took us to the church. The police was there, and all was most orderly. The church was pretty well filled with spectators, although it happened at half past nine. I never saw a church marriage before, but Mr. Green was a good director. When we retired an attempt was made at the church door to place a board for us to step over, by some masons working at the church repairs, but it was checked directly. There came also a written petition for drink money from the same parties, but we were not so foolish as listen to it. The children of course had to get their handful of small coins scattered about for them. In going up the street, a basin of rice was thrown across the vehicle. It seemed to have pleased the Wooler people to have us there. It was termed "a neat nice wedding", and was a good termination to what they were pleased to call "a twenty years engagement", although that is a gross exaggeration. The carriage returned to Miss Short's, and a plate of cake was cast over the bride's head, and some more copper tribute was forthcoming to the bairns, who appeared to have deserted school for the day. After refreshment, and a meeting of the bride's relatives, and a change of clothes, we drove to Belford, receiving on parting the usual old shoe tokens which are more hearty than commendable. We went from Belford by the express to Dunbar; dined there alone; and got a conveyance, and were here at 6 o'clock. The only demonstrations were flags, and an evergreen arch, and we arrived unexpectedly, and passed in quietly without any uproar,

in the quiet way that both of us like. "Creeling" was whispered, but the people knew better; and they have had their own entertainment suitable to the occasion. The Club work goes on as usual, and my leisure is not the least broken upon, and the house is more comfortable, and is and will look much better. My wife is delighted with the place, small as the house is, and never wearies gazing at the everchanging sea, stealing away at times to watch its motions from the upper windows in a sort of rapt wonder.

Our printing is advancing, and we have a very varied collection of papers this season. I have had a short correspondence with an old friend of your father's, Mr. J. Bailey Langhorne, who has rejoined the Club. He had bought Sir W. Jardine's copy of the Proceedings. . . . Hoping our correspondence will proceed as usual.

With kind regards,
Believe me,
Dear Mrs. Carter,
Yours faithfully,
James Hardy.

Letter 59.

Oldcambus, March 28, 1877.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I thank you much for your two kind communications. I am always engaged, and time revolves rapidly, not, I hope, without some footprints being made upon its sands. I drop this note to apprise you that Mr. Embleton's books are to be sold at Alnwick. Mr. Middlemas is my informant, and he is solicitor for the trustees, as well as agent of Mrs. Taylor. I have instructed him to send you a catalogue, lest you should want anything. Mrs. Taylor has provided for Mr. Embleton, 10 years, and he will have nothing of his own, except the books and collections. It will not be easy for us to write a memoir of him, as we knew so little about him. I have said to Mr. Middlemas to try and do it; but then, he is not a Naturalist. I do not even know his origin. The Club has never forgotten his good services.

I intended to have gone this week to Coldingham to see Mrs. Wilson, and try to help her with Mr. Wilson's Museum, but the wet weather prevents. I hope to do so next week. I expect Mr. Scott of the Berwick Academy on Friday. I believe Mrs. Wilson is willing that most of the Collection should go to Berwick, and I will then hear what he says. Of course it will have to be paid for, as she is not in the best of circumstances. . . .

Mr. W. B. Boyd proposes leaving Ormiston House during the season, to remove to his wife's property, at Faldonside. I

expect to go and see Ormiston before the removal. It will, I am afraid, be a farewell visit to the valleys of the Teviot and Jedwater, which have to me, beautiful reminiscences.

Mrs. Hardy and I have our daily walks and scrambles on the sea coast, when weather permits. Great flocks of wild ducks float all day on the open sea, or straggle in to the little rough inlets among the rocks; we have always a grey hermit heron on the outlook (sometimes 6); four or five black cormorants, now with white patches on their outer thighs, man, like sea-men, their twice-frequented rock, mounting a watchful lookout; whimpering redshanks with their scarlet stockings on search the bare rocky platform, for sea insects among the dark seaweeds, or pass by on the wing in little parties, with a plaintive wail. Occasionally we have the Eider Duck, a most sportive bird in its divings, and it always comes up purer-like than the lymph among which it floats. I count all my sea flocks. There are from 5 to 7 Cormorants; 13 Eider Ducks; and the wild ducks reach 100; the Curlews from 5 to 15, etc. Except rabbits, which swarm, I seldom see a four-footed wild animal. Squirrel skins could be got from gamekeepers, as they are told to shoot them, occasionally, from the injury done by them to the fir-trees; but I am outside the gamekeeper world here. Mr. Brotherston could probably get you a skin, if you asked him.

One of our members is trying to make a census of the Border Rookeries, and he will probably succeed.

If I have forgotten to say anything, I will tell you next time.

With kind regards,

Believe me,

Dear Mrs. Carter,

Yours faithfully,

James Hardy.

Note.—Robert Castles Embleton (1806-77), surgeon, was a founder-member of the Club; for Memoir see *H.B.N.C.* 8, 373-5. His herbarium is in the Hancock Museum, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Letter 60.

Oldcambus, July 17, 1877.

Dear Mrs. Carter,

I have to thank you for several favours, and among others for the report in the "Warder". . . . By Sir John Marjoribanks' directions, his agent in Edinburgh is going to give me a history of the Lees Estate, so far as he can, and its former owners. I found more about it, and Simprin, after I wrote you. I will gladly second Mr. Stuart Macaskie. I have addressed a circular to him, which will be available as if he were a member. It will

probably be a large meeting. . . . If I keep well I will go to Newcastle on the previous day, and will stay there with a relative. The train for Chollerford starts from Newcastle at half past six in the morning; and in the evening starts at Chollerford to return at 8.35. . . .

The circulars were all sent off tonight, so that I will have a week to myself, to see friends. I am sorry to hear of Mr. Wm. Dunlop looking so poorly. It is such wretched weather, one can scarcely go out, without being damped. I will hear about him at Horsley next week, I expect.

Captn. Norman writes that he has come to Allerley House to stay, and be near Capt. Forbes. He will be a useful man, as he knows plants somewhat accurately. . . .

With kind regards,

Believe me,

Dear Mrs. Carter,

faithfully yours,

James Hardy.

Note.—Horsley is the farm adjacent to Brockholes and about two miles S.E. of Grantshouse. It was farmed by one of James Hardy's brothers who later moved to Harpertoun near Kelso.

INCOME

Credit Balance at 22nd September, 1972	..	£282.98
<i>Subscriptions</i>		
Annual, Junior and Library	..	£638.25
Entrance Fees	..	15.00
Sale of Badges	..	11.90
Sale of Club Tie	..	0.85
Arrears	..	56.50
		<hr/>
		742.50

Sundries

Deeds of Covenant	..	£42.46
Donations	..	296.80
Overpaid Subscriptions	..	3.25
		<hr/>
		342.51

EXPENDITURE

Printing of History 1971 (Excess cost over estimate)	£13.24
<i>Printing and Stationery</i>	
Printing of Club Notices, Postages and Stencils	167.32
Binding of Books	18.16
	..
	..
<i>Sundry Expenses</i>	
Insurance, Books and Public Liability	£3.00
Duplicating of Statements	2.50
Refund of Subs. overpaid	3.25
Postage of Reminder Cards for Subs.	6.75
Book Token for Rev. Mr. Finnie	5.00
Coldingham Excavation	396.80
Bank charges	2.20
	<hr/>
	419.50

Subscriptions

Chillingham Wild Cattle	£1.05
British Association	10.00
Assoc. for Preservation of Rural Scotland	1.05
Council of British Archaeology	9.00
Scot. Reg. Cl. British Archaeology	2.40
British Cl. of Social Service	1.00
	<hr/>
	24.50

Officials' Expenses

Mr. W. Ryle Elliot (Secretary)	£26.50
Mr. A. R. Little (Vice President)	3.00
Mr. P. G. Hendry (Editing Secretary)	4.12
Mr. W. O. Morris (Treasurer)	15.06
	<hr/>
	48.68

Credit Balance at Bank, 22nd September, 1973

..	..	676.59
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£1,367.99

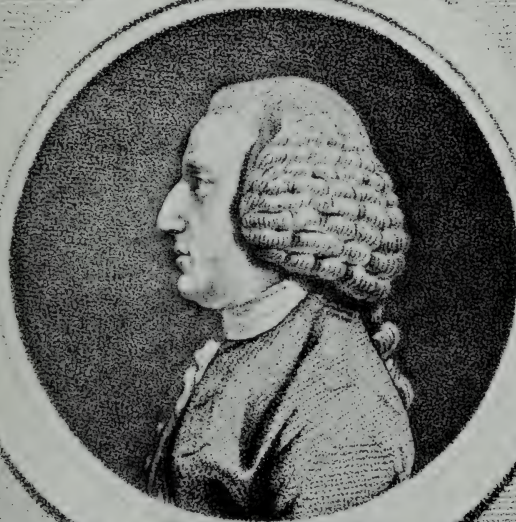
£1,367.99

BALANCE SHEET

<i>LIABILITIES</i>		<i>ASSETS</i>	
Carried from General Account	<i>Cash in Bank</i>	
<i>Investment Account</i>		Royal Bank of Scotland	£676.59
Balance at September, 1973	.. ..	Trustee Savings Bank	.. ..
Interest added	.. ..		422.59
			£1,099.18
			<u>£1,099.18</u>
			<u>£1,099.18</u>

W. O. MORRIS,
Hon. Treasurer.

IAN A. McDONALD,
Hon. Auditor.



Hugh,
Earl of Marchmont.

P. Falconer del. 1768.

D. F. H. sculp.



PLATE 2. Alexander Hume-Campbell, Lord Polwarth (c. 1772).



PLATE 3. Amabel, Lady Polwarth (c. 1772).



PLATE 4. Marchmont House.
Seat of the 3rd Earl of Marchmont.

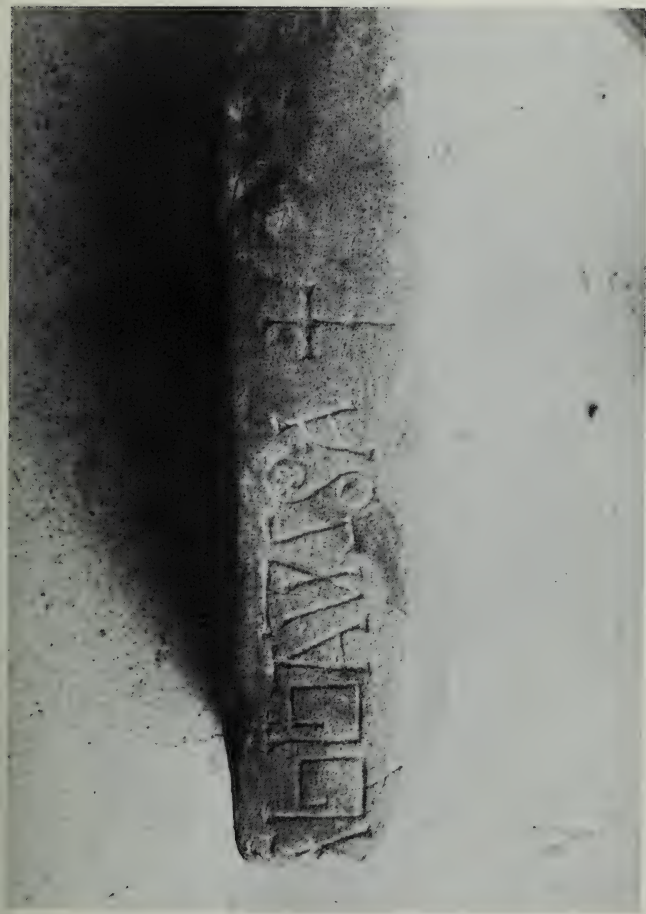


PLATE 5. The Abbatisa Stone.
Coldingham Priory.

J. M. Carrick

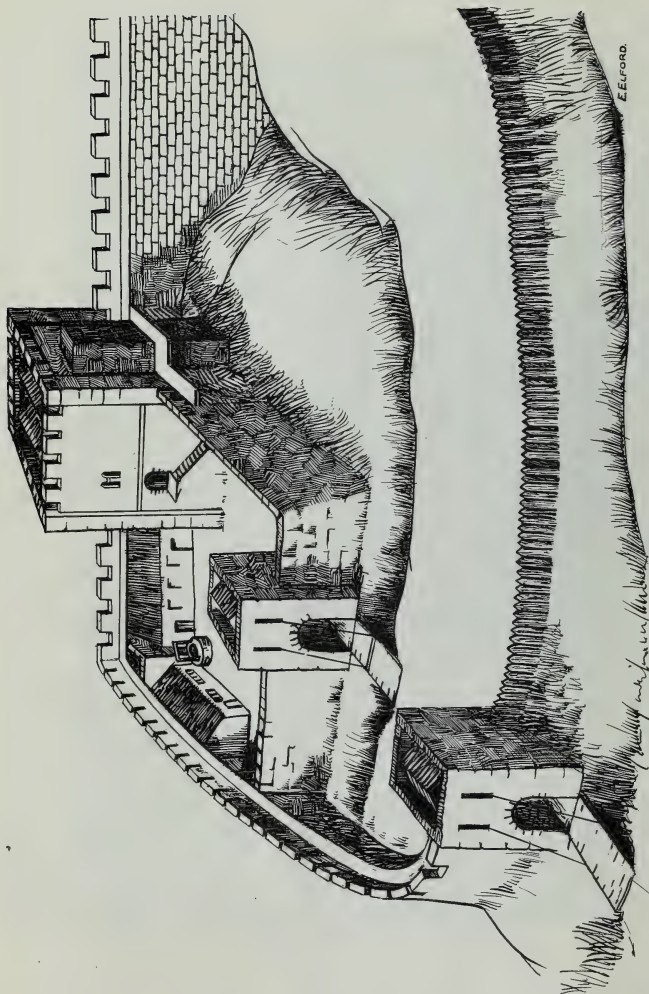


PLATE 6. Norham Castle.
As it may have appeared c. 1200.



PLATE 7. John MacKay Wilson (1804-35).
(By courtesy of Berwick-upon-Tweed Borough Council).

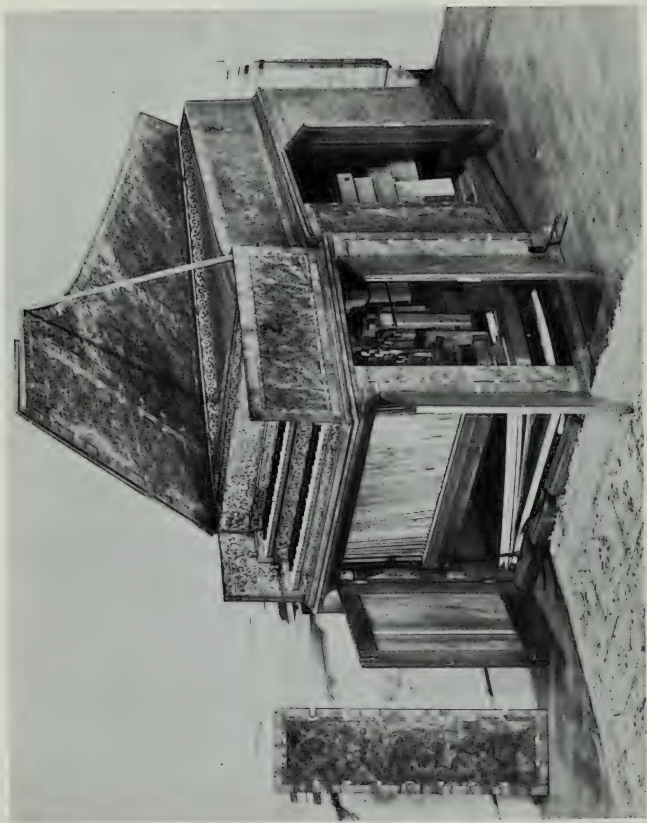


PLATE 8. The Gosford Claviorgan.
(By courtesy of the Earl of Wemyss and March).

Tom Scott

WEA

WEB



COLDINGHAM PRIORY - 1973

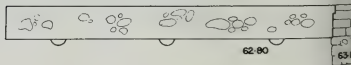
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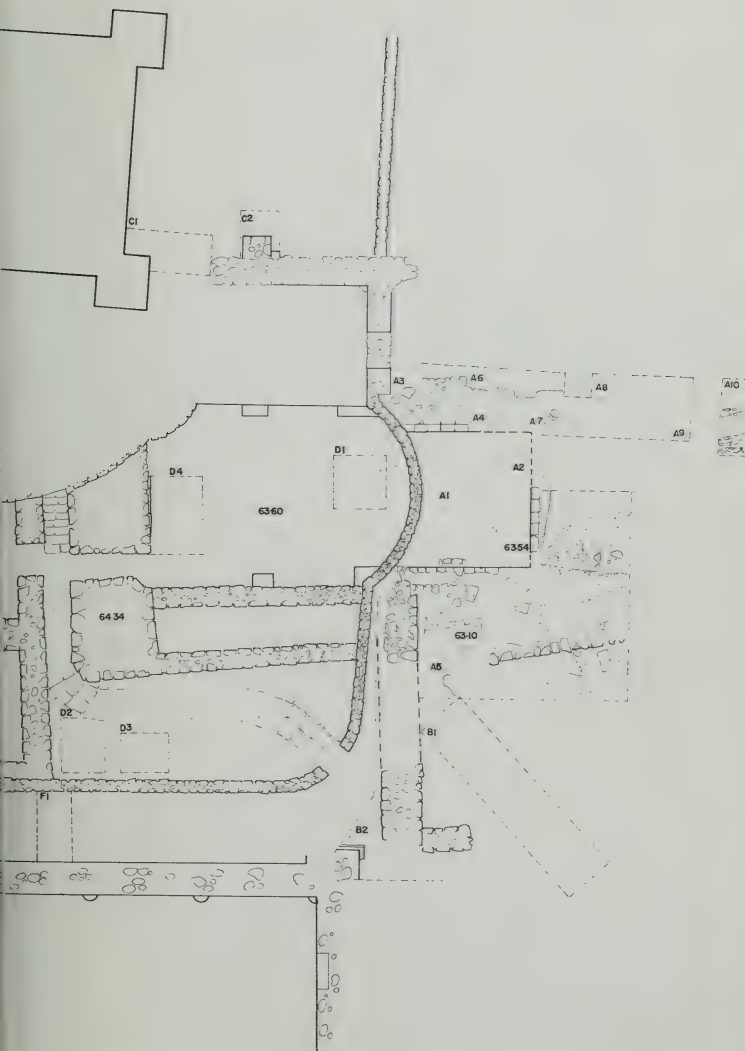
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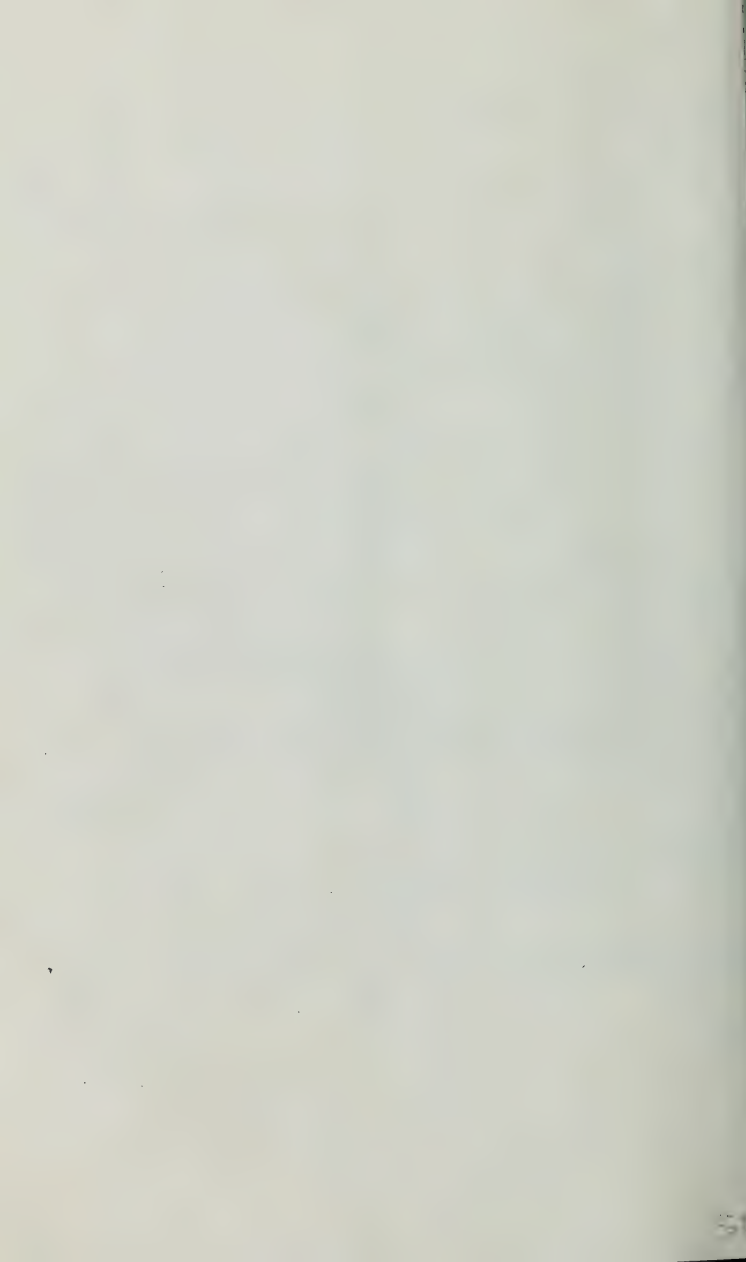


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Edgars Wall





HISTORY
OF THE
BERWICKSHIRE
NATURALISTS' CLUB

The Centenary Volume and Index, issued 1933, price 50p.
is invaluable as a guide to the contents of the *History*.

